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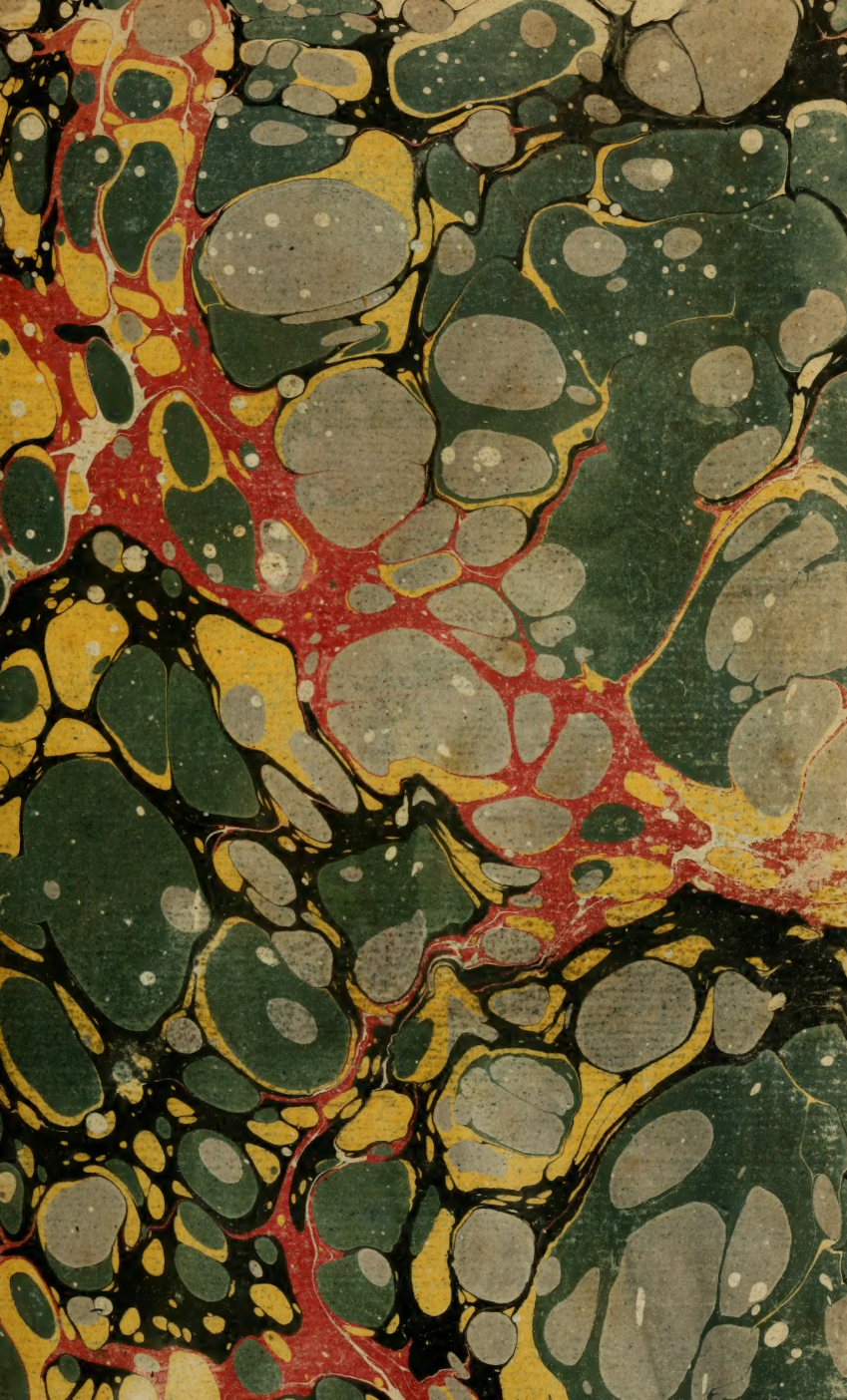
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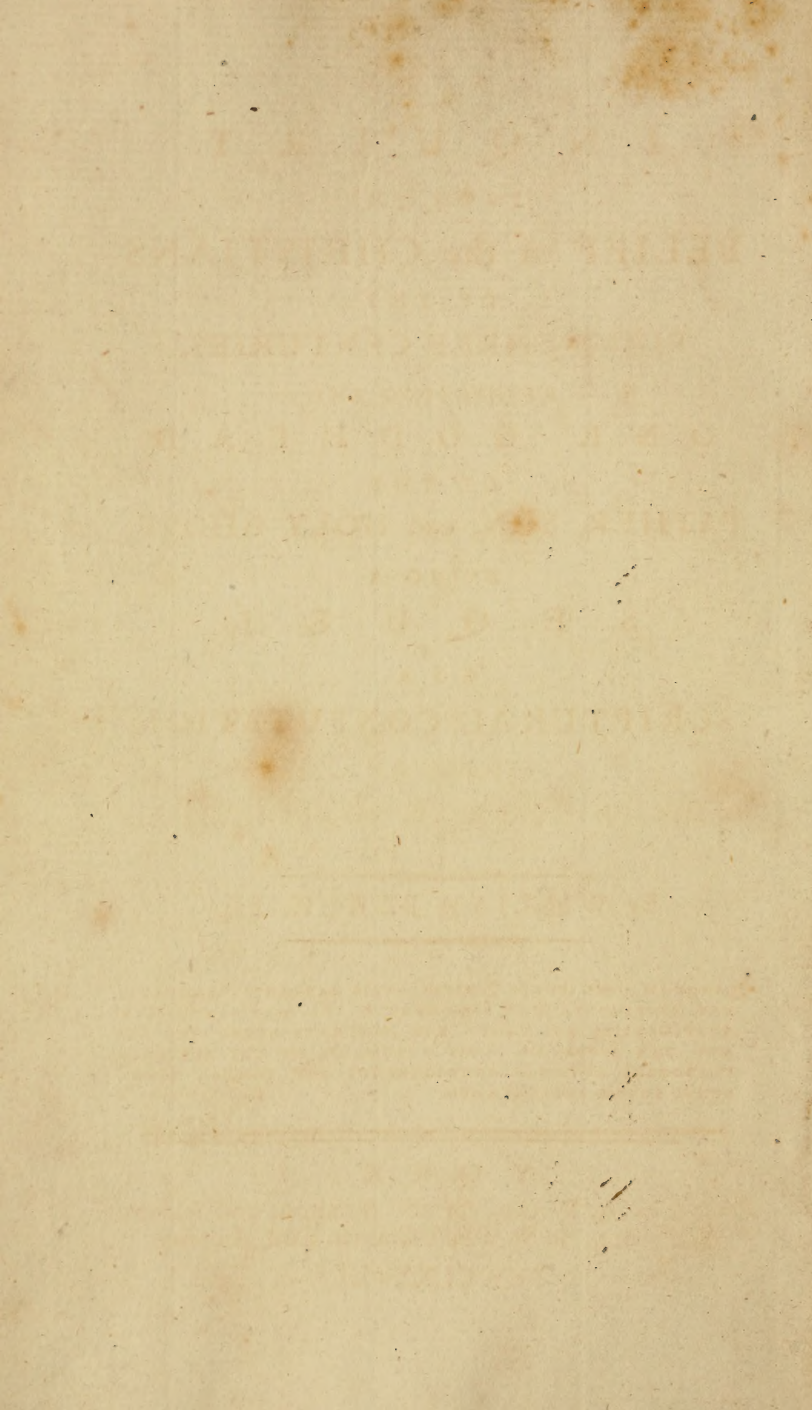
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J. B. Fiske





A N
I N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E
B E L I E F of the C H R I S T I A N S
O F T H E
F I R S T T H R E E C E N T U R I E S,
R E S P E C T I N G T H E
O N E G O D H E A D
O F T H E
F A T H E R, S O N, and H O L Y G H O S T.
B E I N G A
S E Q U E L
T O A
S C R I P T U R A L C O N F U T A T I O N
O F T H E
R e v. M r. L I N D S E Y's l a t e A P O L O G Y.

By W I L L I A M B U R G H, E s q.

QUANQUAM APUD BONOS JUDICES SATIS HABEANT FIRMITATIS
VEL TESTIMONIA SINE ARGUMENTIS, VEL ARGUMENTA SINE
TESTIMONIIS; NOS TAMEN NON CONTENTI ALTERUTRO SUMUS,
CUM SUPPETAT NOBIS UTRUMQUE, NE CUI PERVERSE
INGENUOSO AUT NON INTELLIGENDI AUT CONTRA DISSE-
RENDI LOCUM RELINQUAMUS. LACTANTIUS.

Y O R K :

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MDCCLXXVIII.

A N

I N Q U I R Y

BETTER OF THE CHRISTIANS
OF THE
FIRST THREE CENTURIES

RESPECTING THE
O N E G O D H E A D
OF THE
FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST.

BY
S E Q U E L
TO A
SCRIPTURAL CONFESSION

OF THE
Rev. Mr. LINDSEY'S APOLOGY.
BY
WILLIAM BURCH, ESQ.

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MDCCLXXXVII.

Advertisement.

THE intention of the following work is to confute a claim laid by Unitarians to the prescriptive concurrence of all the Christians of the first three centuries, in those tenets which they now entertain themselves.——To this end the doctrines professed by every several Christian who flourished within that period, and who has transmitted an account of his belief to us, are, in a faithful translation, stated from his own writings: And in the margin throughout, in order not only to vouch for my fidelity, but to assist in the correction of any error into which I may have unconsciously lapsed, the original language of the writer, from whom the extracts are made, is annexed; or if this has not come to my hands, such antient versions as have obtained credit are quoted; not, however, without some note of discrimination by which the reader is apprized that the language is in the instance not original.

To each century a chapter is assigned; and thus the writers of the primitive Church, arranged in a chronological series, appear in due succession before the reader,

and each is in his own language heard, not only to make profession of that faith which he in reality embraced, but many, by assertions directly opposed to such systems as might have coincided with, or borne a similitude to, modern Unitarianism, to enter, as it were, their solemn protestation against the doctrines which they in reality abjured. The reading also which they received, and the sense in which they accepted, the declarations of the holy Scripture are occasionally stated; and in this point of enquiry their authority is nothing less than conclusive.

I am not conscious of having omitted to enquire into the sentiments of any Christian writer; and as a corroboratory proof of the doctrines they were generally understood to teach or to avow, I have subjoined to the whole, in a separate chapter, such observations as were made upon the religious tenets of the early Church, by those Heathen or Jewish authors, who have in any particular manner adverted to them.

The reader should be here apprized of what he will find frequently urged in the Body of the work: The members of the primitive Church are not produced in evidence

dence of the Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to so large an inference their uninspired assertions are not considered as by any means adequate. They are only called upon to authenticate that verdict which they, to whom the evidence of the Scripture was first referred, originally returned upon it, but which has been lately misrepresented to the world, in order to obtain a judgement, not bearing any reference to the relinquished evidence itself, but grounded upon an absolute falsification of the primary verdict. When, therefore, it is known to the reader, that an appeal has been thus made from the word of God to the sense in which it was received by the early Church, he will probably deem the present enquiry into that sense, not only important, but even necessary, in order to rescue the indolent and *unlearned* from the consequences of these fallacious assertions concerning the primitive faith; and should his own good sense cause him to acquiesce in the Scriptures alone, he cannot be displeased to see that men, who had no other source to draw from than the pure and uncorrupted word, and who were therefore uninfluenced by those prejudices, which are unfairly objected by Unitarians

to

to the members of an established Church, concurred with himself in judgement upon every article of the Christian Religion that has here come under our investigation.

As I have proceeded rather to shew the tenets of each Father separately, than to draw together the sentiments of all to each particular point, the argument must appear less accumulated than it might otherwise have been rendered. To remedy this necessary defect I have, for the most part, annexed references to similar passages, by which they may be turned to with ease; and by an Index, in the nature of a Concordance, have, in the end, brought together all the concurrent assertions of antiquity which, in the tenour of the work, are placed at a distance from one another. In the conduct of this Index, as I know not of any names by which the Articles of our Faith are so generally called, that alphabetical order could have assisted enquiry, I have assumed that order in which they have been already arranged in the Creed ascribed to St. Athanasius, which is of easy access, and is universally known to the members of the Church of England.—It is a common practice with Unitarians to
elude

elude the force of an expression which they cannot subvert, by depreciating its value, and affirming that "if instead of the terms used, such and such other words had been substituted, the meaning of the passage had then indeed been clearly against themselves; but that as the case now stands, there is room for a doubt whether the author intended to glorify our Saviour, &c." In order, to facilitate the overthrow of all objections of this nature, I have annexed another Index, referring to the original language of antiquity, by the means of which the reader may, with greater ease, advert to the several passages, in which the early writers have not only used the expressions objected to in a sense that refuses the restrictions contended for, but in which they have actually employed that very language to which the Unitarian has himself allowed the necessity of yielding, provided only it were seen to be the language of the primitive ages.

If the bulk of those enormous tomes, whence the following pages have been extracted, be taken under consideration, the size of the present volume, which is in a manner their offspring, will not require
any

any other apology. I must, however, acknowledge that it very greatly exceeds my own original idea. When I commenced the work, I intended no more than to lay a few confutatory assertions before the public; and thus, by the deduction of a part, to destroy a proposition which was universal, and which could, therefore, not be true, if it were seen to comprehend a falsehood. The ascertainment of the sense in which some disputed texts of Scripture had been accepted by men, to the greater part of whom the language in which they are written was native, came also within the compass of my design. But as I proceeded in the execution of this scheme, there were many persons occupied in projecting farther employment for me, and the diligent adversaries of our religion supplied new subjects for confutation. A book, such as mine is, like the architecture of a fortification which the enemy necessitates, not the builder conceives, must derive its form and extent from the caprice of its opponent, rather than the preconcerted plan of its writer; the mode of attack prescribes and ascertains the mode of defence.—In few words, finding myself possessed of means effectually to subvert the most specious assertions of the Unitarian,

tarian, and still able to oppose some explicit declaration of antiquity against whatever he might urge in behalf of his unbelief, I did not chuse to leave even the shadow of an argument undisputed; and under this encouragement, at length determined to relinquish the narrow limits I had originally prescribed to myself, and pursue the steps of the adversary, let them conduct me whithersoever they would.— This resolution, together with my former assurance, that at the time of publishing the Scriptural Confutation of Mr. Lindsey's Apology I was an entire stranger to the fathers, may likewise account for the length of the interval between my former and the present publication; besides which, there is nothing in the writers from whom I have collected the materials of this work so very alluring as should engage me in an uninterrupted perusal of their unclassical pages. The fact is, I have frequently been repulsed by fatigue and disgust, and the work has, by consequence, been frequently suspended.

Let not this exception, however, be understood to extend beyond their style; for although they did not possess the graces

of diction, their matter is for the most part profound, and well worthy of pursuit; their learning is extensive, their judgement solid, their reasoning acute and conclusive, and their integrity unblemished. I speak of them in such general terms as may best comprehend them all; for it were foreign from my subject to discriminate among their several characters, and assign to each the peculiar points by which he stands distinguished from the rest.

It is presumed, that if the same articles, and the same arguments to maintain them, be found to recur under several heads, I may yet be allowed to stand exempt from a charge of tautology; an irrefragable proof that the Fathers all concur in doctrine, can hardly be considered as a defect in a book written expressly with a view to prove the concurrence of the Fathers.)

I have not, by any means, sought to lay before the world a chastised composition; to convince, not to amuse, has been my sole endeavour; my sole object in an arduous and laborious undertaking, the advantage of my reader; and my end, I shall consider as happily attained to, if I shall

shall decide the judgement of even a single hesitating Christian. With this declaration it were inconsistent to apologize for any defects of style, or even such awkward expressions as may have escaped my pen, and subsequent correction, but do not disturb the sense of the passage in which they occur; for such, and every literary fault of a similar nature, I accordingly refuse to make any apology whatsoever; and with all due contempt for that malevolence of criticism which I have already experienced, and perfectly indifferent to the frivolous censures of such as will neither hear me for my cause, nor have respect to my cause that they may hear, I address myself only to the candid reader, who, respecting the great end alone, will, I humbly confide, extend a ready pardon to all defects which do not obstruct the general question. Of him indeed I seek for indulgence to this endeavour to maintain the principles of the Christian Religion; to him, with submission and with great truth, I address the plea and supplication of the Poet,

*Da veniam scriptis, quorum non gloria nobis
Causa, sed utilitas, officiumque fuit.*

E R R A T A.

- Page 32, line 9 of the note, *for benedicts read benedictus.*
 P. 48, l. 1 of the note, *for est read es.*
 P. 72, l. 1 of the note, *for spiritatis read spiritualis.*
 P. 83, l. 1 of the second note, *for κοινομεν read κοινωνούμεν.*
 P. 83, l. 1 of ditto, *for γνωρίζοις read γνωρίζοντες.*
 P. 84, l. 21 of the note, *for conficatione read conflictatione.*
 P. 87, l. 1 of the last note, *for ε read ο.*
 P. 92, l. 5 of the note, *for παδῶ read πάδους.*
 P. 121, l. 3 of the note, *for hominum read hominem.*
 P. 124, l. 14, to confess *dele to.*
 P. 140, l. 1 of the last note, *for alià read alia.*
 P. 166, l. 1 of the third note, *for πῶ read τῶ.*
 P. 176, l. 5 ditto, *for only begotten read connatural.*
 P. 180, l. 19, of the 3d note, *for acknowledge read acknow-
 ledges.*
 P. 187, l. 2 of the note, *for scripturam read scripturarum.*
 P. 190, l. 2 of the second note, *for honorassent r. adorassent.*
 P. 251, l. last of the note, *for 285 read 385.*
 P. 358, l. 2 of the 4th note, *for παρειληφότες r. παρειληφότες.*
 P. 369, l. 2 of the 2d note, *for της read τῇ.*
 P. 384, l. last of the note, *for de âvere read de verâ.*

I have not observed any other mistakes which the eye of a reader cannot at once correct.—The difficulty of superintending the typography of Greek accents must be admitted as an excuse for any errors that may have happened with respect to them.—It is hoped there are not many, and of these that none are of consequence,

AN ENQUIRY, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

AS there are but few who are capable of distinguishing between the degrees of testimony, or of seeing in what measure different arguments have a right to claim their assent; as there are indeed but few who are capable of even learning to make the proper distinction, an endeavour to teach it would be a work of very limited utility. My subject is of too general import to admit of a discussion that cannot be generally entered into; in the mass of mankind whatever has the appearance of argument will find its adherents. There is scarcely a sophism can be broached but some capacity will be found mean enough to find conviction in it, or if prejudice influence, we depose our better judgment, we place our will on the throne of our understanding, and give the conduct of our lives to it.

As therefore an extended or unclouded intellect is not conferred on every man, and yet as every individual is intrusted with an immortal soul, the eternal felicity or misery of which is placed in his power, and is to be decided on by him in this life, I conceive that I shall do a more beneficial service to mankind by descending to a confutation of each particular assertion, by which they might be led into destructive error, than if I were to furnish a key for fallacy in the abstract, that could only be applied in the instance by skilful hands.

Under the influence of this idea I appear now upon very different ground from that on which I formerly met Mr. Lindsey; and, after having drawn ample conviction to my own mind from that source whence alone it flows with purity, I have for the sake of those, on whom my former labours may not have wrought the effect I looked for, bowed myself to a meer toil (for such truly I have found it.) The Scriptures had afforded to me all that was necessary to establish my belief, Mr. Lindsey has sought to establish his upon another foundation. For their satisfaction who may concur with him in thinking that farther authority is requisite, I mean, in the subsequent sheets, to produce that authority to which he has appealed.

In the course of his work this gentleman has made the following assertion, “ If the matter is to be put to the vote as it were, it is absolutely necessary that the less learned should be told what upon enquiry will be found undeniably true, viz. THAT THE FATHERS OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES, AND CONSEQUENTLY ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE FOR UPWARD OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST TILL THE COUNCIL OF NICE, WERE GENERALLY UNITARIANS.” Apology, p. 23. See also Scriptural Confutation, p. 193.

Though I cannot conceive that the fact, if proved, ought to influence the sentiments of any christian before whom God has been pleased to lay the evidence of his religion, yet as I saw one gentleman capable of a persuasion that he ought to attend to the opinion of others rather than form a judgement upon that evidence for himself, I feared that persons of the same way of thinking might consider the bold assurance, “ that the immediate successors of the apostles were all Unitarians,”

tarians," as an argument of too high importance; and thence conceive that the example of men so early instructed in the doctrines of Christianity ought to be pursued without hesitation or farther enquiry.

As I had not the smallest doubt of Mr. Lindsey's veracity, and was confident that he had delivered the truth to the best of his information and apprehension, I must acknowledge that I was exceedingly surprized to find that the scriptures which, upon the most diligent search, had afforded to me such evidence of the Trinity as I could not controvert, should have borne to the early Fathers of the Church the very reverse testimony. I considered myself in the light of their brother juror, and that the evidence which had been delivered to them was now before me, and therefore was exceedingly at a loss to account for the different sentiments we had formed, and the different verdicts we were disposed to pronounce upon it.

There is however a deference due to the judgement of men whose abilities have lifted them into the esteem of mankind, and who have turned those abilities to the investigation of the subject into which we are desirous of enquiring ourselves. Though mere antiquity cannot confer value on a work, yet surely to have passed down to us through many ages, and to have received a plaudit from each, is a letter of recommendation which our modesty is called upon to respect. In this light I considered the Fathers, as men no otherwise instructed than myself, but who might have formed a clearer judgement upon the same information; I hoped therefore that I should find the reasons assigned by them, upon which they inferred conclusions, so different from those which appeared to my understanding, and that if I had fallen into an erroneous interpretation of the

scriptures, I should learn where my error lay, and be enabled by their arguments to rectify it. To this purpose, immediately after I had published "A Scriptural Confutation of Mr. Lindsey's Doctrines," I conceived it my duty to consult the venerable Fathers of our Church, and that with the most candid disposition towards them. Under this idea I sat down to their vast volumes; but judge of my surprize when I found that, instead of being Unitarians, there was not one among the Fathers of the first three centuries who has not (so far as the brevity of his work would admit, or the subject he treated of afforded occasion) declared his belief in the godhead of our Saviour; and that very far the majority of them were explicit adorers of the Trinity: For, though the word Trinity has not come down to us as of an earlier date than the middle of the second century, when it was used by Theophilus bishop of Antioch, yet the following extracts, from the still earlier preachers of christianity, will prove that they were just as much aware of the doctrine as he was; and although I think the date of a name of no consequence I will even go farther, and say, that it seems to have been a term in common use when Theophilus employed it; for the cotemporary and immediately subsequent Christians, who do not seem, from their writings, ever to have looked toward him, use it with the most current familiarity.

I mean to confine myself to the Fathers of the first three centuries only, for it is from their example that Mr. Lindsey would persuade us to Unitarianism: To the less learned he has addressed an assertion concerning them; to the less learned I open out what they have written; and desire no credit but where I prove. In a subject so important nothing should be admitted upon trust. But when I have proved my point, I
must

must call upon those, who now consider the tenets of the primitive Christians as of any weight in argument, and esteem themselves well warranted, by their practice, to deny the Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, not then first to degrade their authority when they appear to be on the opposite side of the question; but with candour submit to the force, which they had themselves conferred upon the argument, so long as they conceived its strength to be turned against their adversaries. For my own part I make no appeal from the Scriptures to any other testimony; on them alone I rest my cause. I only desire those, who have not abided by their depositions, but cited the Fathers to give evidence, to abide by the evidence they give, though it should be found to make altogether against them.

There are some few writers, besides the Fathers, who may be reckoned among the CHRISTIAN PEOPLE of the first three hundred years after Christ, to whom Mr. Lindsey's assertion extends; I shall produce some of these to give an account of their own belief, and refer it then to my reader's determination, how justly, and even how honestly this gentleman has declared the Fathers, and all christian people, antecedent to the council of Nice, to have been Unitarians.

I would have it observed that I draw very little from the dubious writings of any of the authors from which the following extracts are taken; whenever I do, I apprise my reader of it. But if, after all, Mr. Lindsey should choose to contest the authenticity of any work that I make use of, I shall not take upon me to establish it. If it be not genuine, nor of the first three centuries, it is a nullity, and consequently can make no more for his position than for mine; and if his affirmation, that the Fathers of the first three centuries were

were Unitarians, has been made without a possibility of being proved, from a defect of writers, it is a good ground of denial to say that it wants the only proof upon which it could have been supported: If he therefore shall choose to contest the authority of those works which I make use of, I am ready to resign them to him; but in return to demand that he will resign his bold assertion to me, or forgive the liberty, which I must take upon his refusal, of flatly denying the truth of it.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

The Sentiments of the Fathers of the First Century.

BESIDES the canonical writers, who are the authentic witnesses of the Trinity, and whose testimony I have already produced, the Fathers of the first century are only three in number, and these three are all mentioned with high honour in the New Testament—their names are CLEMENS ROMANUS, BARNABAS, and HERMAS.

Of ST. CLEMENT we are told by St. Paul that his name was written in the Book of Life, and that he was his fellow labourer, Philippians iv. 3. He suffered martyrdom under Trajan, A. D. 100, for, after a long confinement in the mines, he was at length thrown into the sea with an anchor hung round his neck.

There has come down to our time but one very short work of his, an epistle to the Corinthians, the object of which is to allay disagreements and contentions which seem to have arisen among them on the subject of the resurrection; and to recommend humility and concord. He adheres closely to these points, and is so intent on establishing their morality, that he is doctrinal but in a very small degree. Many other writings have been ascribed to him, but of this alone he is the unquestioned author. A second epistle to the same people has been doubted, but in the opinion of many judicious men without good reason.

These

These two epistles have been translated by Archbishop Wake, who vindicates the authenticity of the second. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, having quoted the entire fifty-third chapter of Isaiah and applied it to our Saviour Jesus Christ, he dissuades them from envy and contention, and desires them to be of a more humble disposition, for that Christ is theirs who are humble, and that HE had set them an example which they ought to follow, and then proceeds to use the following words, which afford a good comment upon Philippians ii. 6, 7, 8. "The scepter of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the noisy pomp of vain glory and splendid station, although he was able to have assumed them, but he came in lowliness of mind." "Beloved, you see what the example, that has been afforded to us, is; for, if the Lord thus humbled himself, how should we do who have come under the yoke of his grace*?" In another part of the same epistle he says, "let us venerate the Lord Jesus Christ whose blood was given for us †;" and he commences his second epistle, the authority of which has been already stated, "Brethren, we should so think of Jesus Christ as of God ‡."

As

* "Τὸ σκῆπτρον Ἰῆς μεγαλωσυνῆς ἦν θεῷ, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκ ἧλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας, ἐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ ἰαταπεινοφρονῶν." "Ὁρᾷτε, ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοί, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδομένος ἡμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἕτως ἰταπεινοφρόνησε, τί ποιήσωμεν ἡμεῖς, οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν Ἰῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντες."

† "Τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃν τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐν ἡραπῶμεν."

‡ "Ἀδελφοί, ἕτως θεὸς ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς περὶ θεοῦ."

As I have said that the first of the above extracts from St. Clement serves to illustrate Philippians ii. 6, 7, 8, I shall take occasion to vindicate the translation of that passage which is given in our Bible, and of setting aside the version which the author of *Familiar Illustrations of certain Passages of Scripture* would substitute for it. In our Bible it stands thus, "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

And thus in the original, "ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεῶ ὑπάρχων, ἐχρησαγμένον ἡγήσατο ἵνα ἴσῃ θεῷ. Ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιότητι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος. Καὶ, &c. &c."

And to this the author under consideration has affixed the following translation, "Who being in the form of God, did not think that being equal to God was a thing to be seized (i. e. by him) but made himself of no reputation." This, he asserts, is preferable to our common version, because he says, "this makes the whole passage just and coherent as a recommendation of humility; and also hints a fine contrast between the conduct of Christ, whom St. Paul elsewhere calls *the second Adam*, and the first who is also said to have been * made in *the likeness of God*; but aspiring to be as God fell. Whereas Christ, who had more of the likeness or *form of God*, on account of his extraordinary powers, not grasping at any thing higher but humbling himself, was exalted." "Indeed the word BUT, which introduces the next verse, evidently leads us to expect some contrast between what goes before and af-

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* This is said of Adam, but not of Christ. *To be*, and *to be made*, differ very widely, even as far as God and his creature.

ter it, which is very striking in the manner in which I translate this text, but is altogether lost in our common version, *for he made himself equal to God* BUT *hum-
bled himself*, is not even sense." *Familiar Illustrations.*

Before I examine the value of this reasoning, I desire my reader to refer this writer's translation to the Greek original, and decide for himself whether the word Ἀρπαγμός, which signifies the "act of seizing," can be strained to the sense which he has assigned to it, or be put, by any possible figure, for "the thing seized" or "to be seized upon." Ἠγήσατο also signifies to estimate the quality or nature of the subject under consideration; and according to this interpretation of the words our translation is made. The subject under consideration is τὸ ἶνα ἴσα Θεῷ, to be equal with God; and this Christ ἡγήσατο esteemed or thought to be, ἐχ ἀρπαγμόν, not a robbery, or seizure of that which was not his own. And hence we may conclude that to be equal with God was his own.

To shew that a version is not true to the original, I should conceive a very sufficient reason for setting it aside. I shall nevertheless annex a short comment on this author's arguments already stated.

He says that his translation "hints a fine contrast between the conduct of Christ, whom St. Paul *elsewhere* calls the second Adam, and the first," &c. as above. Elsewhere indeed; for in the passage before us, there is not even the most distant reference to the paternal character of Christ, which he assumed in the flesh, that we might inherit from him, as our second Adam, what we had forfeited by the lapse of the first progenitor of mankind; but on the contrary, the conduct of Christ, here spoken of, was antecedent to his
having

having been made in the likeness of men; antecedent to his having descended from the glory which he had with the Father before the world was; it was even while he was yet in the form of God: And consequently the apostle never intended in this place to hint any contrast, or other species of comparison whatsoever, between the conduct of him, who was not yet our second Adam, and that of the first, who never sustained any other character but that of a man.

The whole passage I grant, nay I contend for it, is a recommendation of humility after the example of Christ, and so considered, is just and coherent in our very literal translation.

“ Indeed,” says this writer, “ the word BUT, which introduces the next verse, (*But made himself of no reputation, &c.*) evidently leads us to expect some contrast between what goes before and after it, which is very striking in the manner in which I translate this text, but is altogether lost in our common version. For *he made himself equal to God BUT humbled himself*, is not even sense.” And what then? I allow it to be stark nonsense. But is it the language of the apostle? is it even a paraphrase of his assertion? No; nor does it bear the most remote similitude to a passage, which does not state that Christ *made* himself equal to God, but that he possessed that equality, without the mention of any agency; that BEING in the form of God he was able to maintain his equality as of right, not robbery; BUT (and here the contrast between what goes before and after this word is so very obvious, that it might justify the use of a term yet more evidently leading us to expect it) notwithstanding this dignity, such was his humility, that he descended from it, to take upon him an inferiour nature, to unite himself with a

creature, and to BE MADE Man. That even here on earth he sought not worldly splendour (and was this a thing not to be seized by him? was this too above his claim?) but taking upon him an humble station, came in the form of a servant. That even so meek and lowly of spirit was he, that he humbled himself still lower, and became obedient to an ignominious death. If then, "ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich," 2 Corinthians viii. 9, it will appear that the context may be stated thus, "Let this mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus; who being in the form of God, and justifiable in adhering to his equality, and not chargeable with any injury to you, though he had not bowed himself down for your redemption, which was an act of his love, not of your right, yet

He maintained not
his dignity

And even as man he
sought not to exalt
himself over his bre-
thren

As he was without
sin, he might have ex-
empted himself from
farther sorrows, and
as he had power he
might

BUT

took upon him your
nature, and for your
sakes stooped to be
made man.

took upon him the
form of a servant and
ministered to you, ever
extending his benefi-
cial assistance to such
as sought it of him.

it was for your re-
demption he came, to
this his suffering was
necessary, he therefore
made no resistance, but
yielded

might have frustrated
the efforts of human
strength to afflict him

BUT

yielded himself without
reluctance to a death
of ignominy, despising
the shame, as hereby
you are ransomed from
the power of death.

Wherefore be ye like minded, and even as Christ looked not upon his own things, but looking upon yours, assumed the humility of your nature, so do ye, look every man not upon his own, but upon the things of others, having, in lowliness of mind, the same love, being of one accord and of one mind."

But to return to St. CLEMENT. He calls Jesus Christ "the defender and helper of our weakness;" * declares that "by him the eyes of our hearts are opened, and that, as, beneath the vernal sun returning in succession to the torpid gloom of winter, the vegetable, which had lain in a lifeless state, renews its bloom, so by his agency our feeble intellect, which had heretofore been wrapt in sterile darkness, is invigorated, and puts forth its verdure beneath his marvellous light." † After having quoted the 2d verse of the 32d Psalm, "Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile," he makes the following short comment from himself: "Now this blessing is fulfilled in those who are chosen by God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen." ‡ With this doxology, which

is

* Τὸν προσάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν.

† Διὰ τούτου ἠνεώχθησαν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας διὰ τούτου ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτισμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναδάλλει εἰς τὸ φῶς. The metaphor here necessitates a paraphrase.

‡ Οὐκ ὁ μακαρισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκλελεγμένης ὑπο τῶ Θεοῦ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

is three times repeated in his short work, I shall conclude my extracts from this early Father; just remarking, that considering the brevity of an epistle written purely with a view to the morals of the Corinthians, to whom it is directed, it is extraordinary that so much occurs to ascertain the faith of the author, who must evidently appear not to have been an Unitarian.

St. BARNABAS was no less a man than the associate of St. Paul, as is largely recorded of him in the Acts. He was a Jew of Cyprus, where he is said to have been stoned to death, under the Emperour Claudius, about the year 50; but this is very doubtful, the 16th chap. of his epistle general, the only work of his that has come down to our days, argues that he survived the destruction of the temple. *

Though "he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith," Acts xi. 24, his epistle has nevertheless been refused a place in the canon; even its authenticity has been called in question, but so far as I can see without good reason; for Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Origen, who are all within Mr. Lindsey's description, make mention of it, and ascribe it to him. But let us say that it is not his, it is yet a work antecedent to these Fathers, and therefore within the first three centuries, and so far has been adopted by their approbation, that the doctrines contained in it may in a great measure be imputed to them, which equally answers my purpose.

I do not from myself maintain that the plurals of the Old Testament afford any proof of the Trinity,
and

* Only part of this has descended in the original Greek; but the sense of the whole has been transmitted by means of an antient Latin version, Archbishop Wake has translated it into English.

and yet the following passage from St. Barnabas, who was himself a Jew, and consequently competent to give the meaning of a Hebrew expression, affords some argument that they do. I only quote it to shew the sense in which he took them, and thence to demonstrate that he was not an Unitarian.

“ That man shall justly perish, who having knowledge of the way of truth, nevertheless refrains not from the way of darkness. And for this end our Lord was content to suffer for our souls, even though he be the Lord of the whole earth, to whom (*God*) said before the appointment of time, “ let us make man in OUR image after OUR likeness,” Genesis i. 26. Seeing then that he suffered by men, learn how he was content to do so. The prophets having received from him the gift of prophecy spake before concerning him. But he, that he might abolish death and make known the resurrection from the dead, was content to appear in the flesh, that he might perform the promise given to our fathers, because he ought to perform it.” “ For had he not come in the flesh, how could men have been able to look upon him that they might be saved? who looking only upon the finite sun, which shall hereafter cease to exist, and which is but the work of his hands, cannot endure to keep their eyes steadfastly fixed against his rays. Wherefore the Son of God came in the flesh for this cause, that he might completely fill up the measure of their iniquity who have persecuted his prophets unto death. For the same reason also he suffered, for saith God *.” Here part
of

* *Iuste periet homo habens viam veritatis, scientiam, et se a viâ tenebrâ non continet adhuc. Et ad hoc dominus sustinuit pati pro animâ nostrâ, cum sit orbis terrarum dominus, cui dixit die ante constitutionem sæculi, “ faciamus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem nostram,” quomodo ergo sustinuit*

of the 53d chap. of Ifaiah is quoted as the saying of God, whereas it was but juſt before ſaid that the prophets ſpoke as the gift of prophecy had been imparted to them by Chriſt, whoſe prophets they were.

Let it only be remembered that I am not now proving the Godhead of our Saviour by the teſtimony of the Fathers. I only produce what they ſay, in evidence of what they believed themſelves; to that and that alone it is adequate. This ſhort extract is therefore ſufficient to my purpoſe, for it fully proves that St. Barnabas was not an Unitarian. If Mr. Lindſey or any of his adherents think not, let them adopt it as their own ſentiment, and try how far it is conſiſtent with thoſe which they have heretofore entertained and promulgated.

ST. HERMAS is ſaluted by Paul in his epiſtle to the Romans xvi. 14, and there called one of the brethren. Little more is known of him; the manner and even the time of his death is uncertain.

A work of his, intituled *the Shepherd*, has been preſerved, which, conſidering the contents of it, is very extraordinary. It conſiſts of the moſt fanciful viſions,

ſuſtinuit cum ab hominibus hoc pateretur, diſcite. Prophetæ, ab ipſo habentes donum, in illum prophetaverunt: ille autem ut vacuam faceret mortem, et de mortuis reſurrectionem oſtenderet, quia in carne oportebat eum adparere, ſuſtinuit, ut promiſſum parentibus redderet." "Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθησαν ἄνθρωποι οἱ βλέποντες αὐτοῦ; ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἐργῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, βλέποντες ἔχ' ἰσχυρεσιν εἰς ἀκλίνας αὐτοῦ ἀποφθαλμῆσαι. Οὐκ ἔν' ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡλθεν ἐν σαρκί, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν κεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοῦ προφήτου αὐτοῦ. Οὐκ ἔν' εἰς τὸ τοῦ ὑπέμεινε· λέγει γάρ ὁ Θεός," &c.

sions, which he has written in three books. He seems to have been a man of much more piety than genius, and it is surely to this circumstance that the applause which Irenæus and Origen have bestowed upon his writings is to be ascribed. This work has also been translated by Archbishop Wake, who vindicates its authenticity. For this I am little concerned. It was certainly written before Irenæus, and consequently before the middle of the second century, which is all that I desire.

He declares that “ the Son of God is indeed more antient than any creature, insomuch that he was in council with the Father upon the subject of creation*.” “ The name of the Son of God is great and without bounds, and the whole world is supported by it †.” He tells us that “ the right hand of holiness belongs to as many as shall suffer for the name of God ‡.” And again in the same work, speaking of the Son of God to such as had suffered death for his name, and who ought therefore to honour him, having been esteemed worthy to bear his name, he says, “ Had ye not suffered for his name’s sake, ye had been dead unto the Lord; wherefore I speak these things unto you who deliberate whether ye shall confess or deny him, confess that ye have the Lord for your God, lest at any time denying him ye may be delivered over unto bonds ||.” For he

C

had

* Filius quidem Dei omni creaturâ antiquior est, ita ut in consilio patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam. Lib. 3. similitudo 9. cap. 12.

† Nomen filii Dei magnum et immensum est, et totus ab eo sustentatur orbis. Lib. 3. sim. 9. cap. 14.

‡ Illorum sunt dextræ partes sanctitatis, quisquis patietur propter nomen Dei. Lib. 1. visio 3. cap. 2.

|| Nisi passi essetis hujus nominis causâ, propter peccata certè vestra mortui eratis Deo. Hæc igitur vobis dico, quicumque deliberatis de confessione

had just before laid it down, “ that they who are fearful and doubtful and have deliberated with themselves whether they should confess or deny Christ have yet suffered *.” Whereas they who have been firm in the faith, “ and whosoever have suffered for the name of the Lord are had in honour with God, and all their offences are blotted out, because they have suffered death for the name of the Son †.”

The Shepherd of Hermas contains many more passages to the same purpose, which answer my end and prove the writer not to have been an Unitarian. This is all that I seek to prove, and all that his strange work seems good for. But St. Hermas has always been ranked with the Apostolick Fathers, and therefore I cite him. From each of these I have now made extracts, and shewed beyond a contradiction that not one of them was of that religion which Mr. Lindsey labours to propagate. For not a syllable of that doctrine which I have produced from them, has the least consistency with the doctrine which he professes. I put it to him to answer whether he is ready to subscribe these tenets, and if not, I demand St. Clement, St. Barnabas, and St. Hermas; in short, I demand the whole first century to be considered as an exception from his desperate position, and to be handed over to my side of the question.

aut de abnegatione. Confiteamini igitur vos habere dominum deum, ne forte negantes, tradamini in vincula. Lib. 3. sim. 9. cap. 28.

* Qui vero timidi et dubii fuerunt, et deliberaverunt in corde suo utrum faterentur an negarent, et passi sunt. Ibidem.

† Quicumque propter nomen domini passi sunt, honorati apud deum habentur; et omnia eorum deleta sunt delicta, quia propter nomen Filii mortem obierunt. Ibidem.

C H A P. II.

The Sentiments of the Fathers of the Second Century, together with those of some other Christian People.

THE Fathers of the second century were more numerous, and some of them infinitely more voluminous than their predecessors in the former age. Their names were IGNATIUS, POLYCARP, JUSTIN MARTYR, IRENÆUS, THEOPHILUS of Antioch, and CLEMENT of Alexandria. There were besides these some other Christian writers who are not reckoned among the Fathers of the Church, whose names I shall produce when I come to make extracts from their writings. Ignatius and Polycarp deserve to be distinguished from the rest on account of their greater affinity to the apostles. They were both instructed by them in the doctrines of christianity, and particularly by St. John, whose disciples they had been. They had both lived in the first century, but as they survived it, and that their works which have come down to us were written in the second, I have thought the second better entitled to the honour of their names.

ST. IGNATIUS, the disciple of St. John, was appointed Bishop of Antioch, in Syria, by St. Paul, and approved of by St. Peter; his authority therefore seems to me of a higher nature than that of any other writer, who was not an inspired witness of the Godhead of our Redeemer. He steadily adhered to the doctrines which he had received from the Apostles, and in consequence of his firmness suffered martyrdom in the year 107, under Trajan, by whose command he was
dragged

dragged from Antioch to Rome, and there thrown to wild beasts, to be devoured *for the entertainment of the people*. I shall have occasion presently to speak of his sufferings and his constancy under them, so shall drop the subject for the present, and dwell no more upon it than is necessary to the proof of my own point. The invention of some zealous fabulist, that St. Ignatius had been the individual child whom our Saviour set in the midst of his disciples, and pointed out as an example of innocence, Matth. xviii. 2, 3, 4, though probably groundless, is a proof of the high veneration in which succeeding ages held the memory of this valuable man.

Seven epistles written by him have come to our hands. By the diligence of Archbishop Usher, Isaac Vossius, and Cotelier, these have been purged from the interpolations and inaccuracies of their several transcribers, and I should hope, in consequence of their labours, are possessed by us now in their original purity. Of one of them addressed to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, some doubt has been entertained. The remaining six are granted to be authentick. Archbishop Wake has translated them all into English. They are directed to the Smyrnæans, Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, and the Romans. And, what is very well deserving of notice, Eusebius informs us that he wrote these *seven* epistles not only after he had received sentence of death, but while he was actually on his journey to Rome to undergoe it.

He begins his epistle to the Smyrnæans thus, “I glorify Jesus Christ the God who hath thus filled you with wisdom*.” And in the same work the following

* Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ὅπως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαιτα.

ing passage also occurs, "All these things (Jesus Christ) suffered for us that we might be saved, and he did truly suffer, as also he did truly raise up himself*." He farther calls our Redeemer "God clothed in flesh †." And in answer to an objection made to his having raised his true human body, he answers, "After his resurrection he did eat and drink with them as a man in the flesh, although in spirit he was one with the Father ‡." "For I know that after his resurrection he was in the flesh, and I believe that he is in it §." He tells them also "Ye have done well in having received Philo and Rheus and Agathopus as the deacons of Christ God ||."

Writing to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, the same venerable Father admonishes him to "consider the times and expect him who is above all time, eternal, invisible, yet for our sakes made visible, impalpable, impassive, yet for us made subject to sufferings, and in every way undergoing them with patience for our sake**;" and concludes with saying, "I pray that you

* Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἑπαθεν (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) δι' ἡμᾶς ἵνα σωθῶμεν· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἑπαθεν, ὥς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν.

† Σαρκοφόρον Θεόν. Edit. Usher. & Cotelier.

‡ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν ἄντοις, καὶ συνέπιεν ὥς σαρκικός, καὶ ὡς πνευματικῶς ἠνωμένος τῷ πατρὶ.

§ Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ ἄνθρωπον οἶδα, καὶ πιστεύω πάντα.

|| Φίλωνα, καὶ Ρῆον, καὶ Ἀγαθόπων, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι, ὥς διακόνες Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ.

** Τῶς καιρὸς καταμάνθανε· τὸν ὑπέρκαιρον προσδόκα, τὸν ἀχρεον, τὸν ἄορατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὄρατον, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆν, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθῆτον, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπων δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

you may be in every respect confirmed in your God Jesus Christ *."

He addresses himself to the church of Ephesus, which is chosen, he says, "according to the will of the Father and Jesus Christ our God †." And in the course of his epistle informs them, that "there is one physician both fleshly and spiritual, created and not created, God in true immortal life," (or rather as Wake translates it from a corrected reading to which all the editours give the preference, "God in man, true life in death,") "both of Mary and of God, first made subject to sufferings and then impassive *Jesus Christ our Lord* ‡." To the same purpose he tells them that "our God Jesus Christ was, according to the dispensation of God, conceived in the womb of Mary, of the seed of David, by the Holy Ghost §."

As a consequence he points out that "Ignorance was taken away, the old kingdom was abolished, God appearing manifest in the nature of man to the renewal of

* Ἐξῆσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντός ἐν Θεῷ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἔυχεται.

† Ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

‡ Ἐἰς ἰσθρὸς ἐστὶν σαρκικὸς ἰε καὶ πνεύματικὸς; γενήτης καὶ ἀγενήτης, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος, Θεὸς ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ (vel forte rectius, ἐν ἀνδρώπῳ Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ) καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθὴρ, καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κυριὸς ἡμῶν.)

§ Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας, καὶ οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.

of eternal life ¶.” He demands therefore “ why are we not all wise who have received the knowledge of God who is Jesus Christ ? * ” declares “ it is meet and right that you should in every way glorify Jesus Christ who hath glorified you † ; ” and finally charges them saying “ gather yourselves together in the love of Jesus Christ, who according to the flesh is of the race of David, the Son of Man, and the Son of God § . ”

As this passage bears a strong affinity to Romans ix. 5, I shall here take occasion to vindicate that text from some of the extraordinary efforts which have been made by Unitarians to overcome, or escape from, its force. The commencement of their process is always a charge of inaccuracy against our translation of the Bible ; if they be unable to make this good by the most violent wresting of the original, the charge is carried over to the transcribers, who are even accused of design and wilful alteration ; but if again they fail here, and that a general concurrence of manuscripts, and frequent quotations by writers still more antient, authenticate the text as it has come down to us, the next step is obvious ; a plurality of persons in the one Godhead is the consequence of the established reading, and this is an absurdity with which their well-informed reason can never be brought to concur. This their reason
working

|| "Αγνοια καθερείτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρειτο, Θεῷ ἀνδρα-
πίτως φανερωμένῳ εἰς καινότηλα αἰδῖα ζωῆς.

* Διατί δὲ ὃ πάντες φρόνιμοι γινόμεθα λαβόντες Θεῷ γυνῶσι, ὃ
ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

† Πρέπον ὅν ἔστιν κατὰ πάντα τρόπων δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν
δοξάσαντα ἡμᾶς.

§ Πάντες ἐν χάριτι συνίρεσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ κατὰ σῶμα
ἐκ γένος Δαβὶδ, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνδρῶπι καὶ υἱῷ Θεῷ.

working upon premises of its own making is pronounced competent to the knowledge of a God, with whose nature a Trinity is altogether inconsistent; the Deism of their own imagination is acquiesced in, and revelation rejected by wholesale—the utter extirpation of christianity is visibly the consequence, and I must go so much farther as to say that it is visibly the object. But let it be observed, that their very rejection of the Bible is a proof of my point. They reject it only because it teaches the trinal unity of God. They appeal to their reason because they do not find deism the religion of the scriptures. However, as I hope that the majority of my countrymen are of opinion that the word of their Maker is their best guide to the knowledge of him, and that the relation which subsists between God and his creatures is better referred to the appointment of him from whom they have derived being, than reserved to the appointment of their own derived and narrowly limited faculties, I shall think myself well employed in an attempt to rescue his holy word, our only guide in these disquisitions, from perversion.

With respect therefore to the text under consideration, the two first steps have been already taken; our translation has been quarrelled with; and the original Greek has been disputed. As I have already said that their rejection of the Bible on this ground is an argument in my behalf, and a proof that Unitarians find the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity contained in it; I will now endeavour to reduce them to this last necessity. There are however some among them on whom I should hope that the establishment of a strong assertion, made by an inspired writer, would work another effect, and persuade them to believe the fact itself which he has asserted. The author of *Familiar Illustrations*, already quoted, has called himself a lover of
the

the Gospel: Such I doubt not he is, and that he will act in conformity with this title, and therefore I expect that, if what I write should ever come under his observation, he will either, upon feeling it, acknowledge conviction; or, if he shall still continue to think me in an error; he will at the least consider me as engaged in the pursuit of truth; that if I freely combat his arguments, he will not look upon me as waging hostilities, but as amicably divesting the truth of that veil which has hid her from his own eyes, and with which he has endeavoured to seclude her from the observation of other men. I here assume my own question, to yield it were a larger concession than I am confident he would desire.

And yet these hopes of candour are far from being extensive. Experience has convinced me that there is nothing less amiable in the sight of some men than truth herself, nor more obnoxious than an honest and disinterested effort to produce her beauties to the general eye. To the copious obloquy, however, with which I have been personally treated by men whose own practice might have taught them my right to support an opinion, I shall not advert: I consider it merely as a judgement pronounced by themselves upon the weakness of their cause*, and yield them my free forgiveness. My temper, I trust in God, is not vindictive; but if it were, my utmost vengeance would be amply wreaked by those occasional quotations from the arguments of my opponents, which the conduct of this work will make it necessary for me to state; of these the present case requires that I should immediately produce one to the observation of my reader.

D

The

* Remarks on a late publication, intituled, *A Scriptural Confutation, &c.* In an Address to the Author. By a Member of the Church of Christ.

The words of St. Paul are, as translated in our Bible, “ Whose are the Fathers and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever, Amen, Romans ix. 5.” In the original Greek they are Ὦν ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ἐξ ᾧ ὁ Χριστός, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ᾧ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητός εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. This the author of Familiar Illustrations render thus, “ *Whose are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came. God who is over all be blessed for ever. Amen.*” And gives as a reason that “ it is very common in Jewish writings to add a doxology after barely mentioning the name of God.” But surely this is very inapplicable here; for the name of God does not precede it in the whole chapter, but is first made use of in the supposed doxology itself, which is therefore not added after the mention of his name, unless the writer make a concession and admit that Christ, whose name is immediately followed by the doxology, is God, who is glorified in it. He thinks himself at liberty to point the passage differently from the accepted reading, and to divide it into two sentences, the first ending at σάρκα; but the participle ᾧ stands in the way, unites the parts of the text, and will not admit of such a punctuation. This *my Remarker* has also observed*; but is extremely angry with me for not having adopted another division of it from Mr. Locke, who refers ὁ ᾧ ἐπὶ πάντων, “ who is over all” to the name of Christ, puts his full point there, and converts the remainder of the verse into a doxology. But with a happy inconsistency, in the maintenance of which alone he is consistent, after venting his rage at my absurdity in not having adopted this proposal of Mr. Locke, he immediately tells me that he thinks it ought not to be adopted

* Were peculiar phraseology of weight against authority, John i. 18—John iii. 13—viii. 47—Rev. i. 5—v. 5, &c. might exempt the ᾧ in this passage from the charge—to these add and refer to the next note, Rom. i. 25, in which the Apostle has indicatively said τὸν κτίσαντα, ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητός εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

adopted himself. Indeed I should conceive not too, for, if Christ be over all, it is no great addition to the possessor of omnipotence to say that he is God blessed for ever; and the very sense would here shew the futility of the effort to divide the text *. But the Remarker would perhaps have held fast here, if he had not been able to supply two other reasons for setting aside the usual acceptation of this passage from his own common place-book. And surely my reader will think he would have done more wisely in abiding by the name of Mr. Locke, than letting go the only stay he had, and catching at two such resources as have let him plunge fairly down.

It is said in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. i. ver. 2, δι' ἧ καὶ τὰς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε, which our version has rendered "by whom (Christ) he made the worlds." St. Matthew also tells us that the disciples desired to learn of our Saviour "what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world," or as it stands in the original συνέλευας τῷ αἰῶνος, Matt. xxiv. 3. The former of these passages our Remarker has translated "by whom he *disposed the ages*, the different periods of the world with respect to God's moral government, of which the Christian is to be the last;" the latter he turns "*the end of the age*," and from these two passages thus interpreted he proceeds to explain the

D 2

words

* The final word of the passage being *Amen*, seems to have suggested the idea of a doxology. But it should be remembered that the same word follows a declaration made by our Saviour himself, who says to St. John, "I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore. Amen." Rev. i. 18. If there be any doxology in either case it must consist in that one term alone. After either making or receiving such a communication of spiritual things, the Apostles might without any impropriety express their own assent to the eternal Godhead of their Lord, by annexing that term by which we still continue to express concurrence, and immediately follow the assertion with uttering as from themselves. "*Amen*."

words *ἕως τῶν αἰώνων*, (*for ever*) at the close of the passage in question, and concludes that Christ “is over all God to be blessed *so long as the ages shall continue.*”

Now let us, for a moment only, admit of this curious idea, and see what are the consequences of it. The Lord’s Prayer concludes with ascribing to God the power and the glory *for ever and ever*, and the original Greek of this is *ἕως τῶν αἰώνων*, Matth. vi. 13, which being expressed in the very same language, must precisely mean the very same duration of time through which, in the passage before us, Christ is pronounced to be *God to be blessed*. I will draw the necessary inference myself, either therefore the Godhead of the Father is *limited* to the term of the ages, which is a blasphemy of the deepest dye, or an irrefragable argument lent to me in support of my tenet, that the Lord’s Prayer is addressed to Jesus Christ. For either *ἕως τῶν αἰώνων* means an *indeterminable eternity, or it is not applicable to God the Father; but if it be applicable to God the Father, and therefore mean an indeterminable eternity, the application of it to Jesus Christ is a proof that he is over all God blessed *for ever*.

Though my Remarker has not been able to see this conclusion, yet he was aware that his business was not finished while the text remained undisturbed in the original Greek, and therefore he moves on, from the childish misinterpretations which I have stated, to the second step of the process, and declares “a suspicion has

* My Remarker, who has found a *subordinate God* and a *supreme God*, has reduced me to the necessity of using this species of jargon, of which he is the sole inventour, and in the sole possession of which I should rejoice to leave him. But as there are with him degrees in the infinite majesty of God, he has here found out degrees in his eternal existence—so that we must ascribe to this clear and penetrating genius the device of *subject supremacy*, *finite infinity*, and *determinable eternity*.

has arisen, that a small transposition has happened" in the Greek; and, with great candour of disposition, charges the transcribers of the antient manuscripts with being careless and knavish, with having taken advantage of all the arts of fraud, and all the terrors of force, in short, of having entered into a plot to deform and pollute the sacred writings; for how else, forsooth, could it have happened that every manuscript in the world agrees with the accepted reading of our Greek Testament? and when all this is said, the small transposition contended for is, that the words *ο ων εστι παντων* (without accents) should be changed into *ων ο εστι παντων*; which *ων* he would aspirate, and so change the sense of the whole passage.

Perhaps he will say that the same transposition has been made by all the Fathers, or that they found it made in manuscripts antecedent to their time. If so, Mr. Lindsey's assertion must fall to the ground, and the Fathers be admitted not only to have been believers, but crafty promoters of a belief in a Trinity of persons in the one Godhead; or to have derived the belief from a faction of transcribers formed in days yet earlier than their own. But as I suppose this will not be insisted on, and that the genuine reading of the text before us must be decided by authority, I shall produce that authority upon which its authenticity is incontestibly established.

The Remarker acknowledges himself that the reading is general, and the only one of the manuscripts: and surely such a circumstance would have allayed the suspicions of an honest enquirer, and precluded all conjecture in a candid mind. But he acknowledges that this text seems to say something for Athanasianism:
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at all events, therefore, the word of God must be superseded.

I am obliged here to make a small infringement upon the method I had prescribed to myself, and to quote from some of the Fathers before I have reached them in their chronological order. But as they have applied or translated this text, it will appear, from their manner of applying or translating it, how they found it written in the original.

Of IRENÆUS I shall have occasion to speak more at large presently ; it is enough now to say that he lived in the second century. Had the original Greek in which he wrote descended to our days, to exhibit the verse alone, would have been sufficient to ascertain how he read the passage under consideration. The antient Latin version of his work, which is preserved, shews us to a certainty how he applied it, and therefore I shall give the whole context.

Speaking of the generation of Jesus Christ he says, “ that he is called *God with us*, lest by any means we should conceive that he was only a man. For the word was made flesh, not by the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but by the will of God. Nor should we indeed surmise Jesus to have been another, but know him to be one and the same God. And this Paul has interpreted him to be (in the four first verses of the first chapter to the Romans, which he quotes) and again, writing to the Romans, he says concerning Jesus, *whose are the Fathers and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, WHO IS over all God blessed for ever* *.”

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* Et quoniam hic est Emanuel, (quod interpretatum est, nobiscum Deus) ne fortè tantum eum hominem putaremus. Non enim ex voluntate carnis, neque

TERTULLIAN, whose name belongs to the third century, and whose faith shall be enquired into under that head, wrote in Latin, and has given us a translation of the text in question, which evidently demonstrates that it stood in the Greek, in his day, exactly as it does now in ours *. And CYPRIAN, A. D, 248, in his second book against the Jews, produces this text in proof of the Godhead of Christ †.

NOVATIAN, a man of great learning, though not reckoned among the Fathers, has given us a version of this text also. He wrote in the year 240, and, as I shall not have occasion to speak of him again, I shall now dismiss his subject, and by a quotation from his treatise on the Trinity, in which the verse occurs, put it beyond all controversy that he was not an Unitarian.

“ But if, when it belongs to God alone to know the secrets of the heart, Christ looks into the secrets of the heart: But if, when it belongs to God alone to forgive sins, the same Christ forgives sins: But if, when it is not the possible act of any man to come from heaven,

neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, verbum caro factum est: neque alium quidem Jesum suspicemur fuisse, sed unum et eundem Deum sciremus esse: hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus. Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israel, dicit, *quorum Patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, QUI EST DEUS super omnes benedictus in secula.*” Irenæus adversus Hæreses, Lib. iii. cap. 18. p. 203.

* Ex quibus Christus QUI EST DEUS super omnia benedictus in ævum omne. *Tertull. adv. Praxean.* p. 1020.

Christum autem et ipsum Deum cognominavit (Paulus); quorum Patres et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, QUI EST super omnia Deus benedictus in ævum. *Ejusdem,* p. 1021.

† Quorum Patres, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem QUI EST super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula.

Cypriani adversus Judæos, lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 35;

heaven, Christ in his advent descended from heaven: But if, when no man can utter these words, I and my Father are one, Christ alone, from a consciousness of his Godhead, proclaimed them: But if, lastly, the apostle Thomas, when supplied with all the circumstances and evidences of the Godhead of Christ, answering, said unto Christ, my Lord and my God: But if the apostle Paul too, in his epistles, says, *whose are the Father's, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, WHO IS over all God blessed for ever*: But if the same Paul publishes himself to have been constituted an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ: But if the same Paul contend for it, that he did not learn the gospel from men, neither receive it by man, but by Jesus Christ: Christ is worthily God." "And yet the Heretick still hesitates to acknowledge Christ to be God, whom he sees proved to be God by the evidence of so many circumstances and declarations *."

Thus then I have rescued this poor text from the sophistical efforts which have been made to suppress it, and

* Quòd si cum nullius sit nisi Dei cordis nosse secreta, Christus secreta conspiciat cordis: Quòd si, cum nullius sit nisi Dei peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit: quòd si, cum nullius sit hominis de cælo venire, de cælo veniendo descendit: quòd si, cum nullius hominis hæc vox esse possit, Ego & Pater unum sumus, hanc vocem de conscientia divinitatis Christus solus edicit: quòd si postmodò omnibus divinitatis Christi probationibus et rebus instructus Apostolus Thomas, respondens Christo, Dominus meus et Deus meus dicit: Quòd si, et Apostolus Paulus, *quorum*, inquit, *Patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, QUI EST super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula*, in suis literis scribit: Quòd si, idem se Apostolum non ab hominibus, aut per hominem sed per Jesum Christum constitutum esse depromit: Quòd si, idem Evangelium non se ab hominibus didicisse aut per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum accepisse contendit: MÉRITO DEUS EST CHRISTUS." "Et tamen adhuc dubitat hæreticus Christum dicere esse Deum, quem Deum tot et rebus animadvertit et vocibus adprobaturum."

Novatiani de Trinitate lib. p. 1242.

and by the authority of the earliest writers of the church, incontestibly proved the Greek to be genuine as we have received it. The antient transcribers must therefore stand acquitted of the charge of knavery preferred against them ; and I should think it but fair also that they should be presented with a copy of their indictment.

I have shewed that the proposed construction of the Greek makes against the hypothesis of the propounder. This may deter *him* from insisting upon it. For the rest of my readers they will probably reject it because it is nonsense.

But I have shewed also that our translation, concurring with the Greek as it was originally written, and as it was understood by the Fathers, is made according to the genuine meaning of the apostle : and therefore desire that the same favour shall now be extended to the translators, that I had before demanded for the transcribers.

But this text is found to say something for Athanasianism. And what then ? The modest and humble reader of the word of his Creator will attend to it, and believe ; he knows that it is from God alone that he can learn the things which belong to God. But my Remarker marching more boldly on, arrives at once at what I have already laid down to be the great end of all Unitarian process, and declares that his reason informs him that this proposition (namely, that the Son and the Holy Ghost are, with the Father, one God) is false, by a much clearer evidence than she affords him of the existence of any revelation whatever. And surely that she should act by him in this peculiar manner is not at all to be wondered at, when we consider

der the peculiar nature of this Remarker's reason, which he has himself let us into, for he tells us that she is the *first vehicle of human information* from God to men, that she is *the communication of truths*, and the *first source of knowledge* planted by God in the mind of man. He might as well have called his eye the source of light, (and yet I doubt it is not a very brilliant one) or his journey's end the post-horse that had carried him to it. But such is the definition of reason given to us by the Remarker, and when I have set it before my reader he will probably be satisfied, without enquiring into the superstructure which he has raised upon such a foundation. I am only glad that a man of such reasoning faculties has thrown aside the mask, and declared that he will, upon a competition between this sort of reason, which he has, and the word of God, depend upon this reason, and renounce revelation: for such is the amount of his menaces in the 9th page of his Remarks. I am as sensible as this man that my system, if true, is the most astonishing that ever was presented to the human mind. But I do not therefore think it incredible—from nothing, nothing comes, is an axiom of which perhaps this Remarker's reason has been the vehicle. And yet from this sterile nothing has God called forth all matter; from this unfruitful nothing his word has ushered an universe into existence. A position that may possibly be found as much to oppose *the vehicle of the Remarker's knowledge*, as that on account of which he is in such haste to fling away all revelation. Unless he maintain the doctrines of eternal worlds or eternal matter, he must allow his axiom does neither extend to nor controul the operations of God. And whence has he been supplied with axioms to which the inscrutable and incomprehensible nature of God must of such absolute necessity exactly conform? He shall here give his own

own answer that *it is no matter*. For wherever reason finds the clear perception it has of the agreement or disagreement of its own ideas, it finds certainty, and so far it may be safely trusted. But the certainty arises not from the nature of the object under contemplation, but from the clear perception it has of the agreement or disagreement of its own ideas *. So that the plain English of this passage, if it will bear plain English, is briefly this, that a truth which does not agree with a false preconception, must be set aside without any respect whatsoever being paid to its agreement with its own archetype, its adequacy shall avail it nothing if it disagree with an idea which is inadequate. And inadequate must every human conception be to the extent of any one of the divine perfections. How then shall we possess a just idea of the great almighty aggregate of all? We may determine, it is true, that whoever is not infinitely wise, just, and true, is not supreme God; but what idea have we of the exercise of infinite wisdom, infinite justice, or even of infinite truth, which we should rely upon as a criterion of our Creator, and according to the agreement or incongruity with which we should pronounce on the supreme Godhead? I have said before, that infinite wisdom may do that which to us does not seem wise, because we do not comprehend it; and, for the same reason, that infinite justice may

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* That I may not be thought to misrepresent the Remarker, I shall state his exact words here, whence it may be seen that I have only substituted the things referred to for the pronouns referring to them. He is speaking of reason, which he says is infallible in its decisions so far as it has *clear, distinct, and adequate conceptions* of God, which the Remarker would insinuate that he has himself; and then he proceeds to say, "The certainty arises not from the nature of the object under contemplation, but from the clear perception it has of the agreement or disagreement of its own ideas. Wherever it finds *that* it finds certainty, and so far may be safely trusted." *Remarks. p. 5.* This is the very depth of Nonsense. My Remarker has attempted to parody me, but pointed out his own wretched misapprehension as my language, which is a very dishonest proceeding. I take such conduct, however, as an acknowledgement that as I really stand he cannot reach me. *Rem. p. 64.*

do that which to us does not seem just ; I now add that infinite truth may pronounce those things to agree which may appear to us at variance ; and that when it speaks concerning the nature of God, it may, and probably will, reveal somewhat at variance with our ideas, formed only upon a finite and limited scale ; and pronounce that concerning him who has never had room in our *vehicle of knowledge*, which is not possessed in common with those ideas which really occupy it. My Remarker pronounces that I have taught a doctrine so incredible, that were an angel from heaven to teach the like, and work innumerable miracles, yet reason would reject his evidence, because it would feel an irresistible conviction that what he taught was false. Upon what ground reason would find this irresistible conviction I cannot comprehend, unless we agree in the Remarker's definition ; but as my reason is rather a receptacle than a vehicle, or source of knowledge or information, I should yield my belief to an angel of God, who corroborated his testimony by supernatural power, when he imparted his knowledge on a subject of which I had certainly never before entertained *an adequate* idea, and this, though it might stand opposed to any preconception I had before entertained, for I know very well that however infallible reason may be where she has adequate ideas, such ideas of God I have not ; and therefore I am ready to receive such intelligence as one better informed can give me, and to resign any prepossession that might before have taken hold of me. *My* reason is not *the communication of truths* ; it is the recipient of such a communication when made. It is, as it were, the scale-beam which decides the weight of evidence, and marks the prevalence of preponderating truth.

If all which reason cannot reach is to be rejected, reason must resign her own function, of which it is a
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considerable part to distinguish what is cognizable by her and what is not; and, before she proceed to decide upon a question, to decide upon her own competency, and determine whether the question be properly before her or not. But all things, say the advocates of Unitarianism, are properly before her, and she may peremptorily pronounce a negative on that proposition, the truth of which she does not see into, and that too intuitively. This is the utmost extent of Arian argument. We differ only in respect to what sort of premises are to come before reason, what testimony is to be examined into. They pretend a perfect innate acquaintance with the nature of God, and assert that it is not possible for that nature to differ from their idea of it. The Church of England says the nature of God is altogether incomprehensible to man, and that our notions of it are to be obtained by middle terms, the testimony of which it looks into. These it pronounces to be the revelation of God himself, from which we are contented to derive our knowledge of him, and according to which we believe, from a conviction that here alone we can learn any thing concerning "the deep things of God, which God hath revealed unto us by his spirit which searcheth all things," 1 Cor. ii. 10. Hence we affirm the divinity of our Saviour, because we find it there affirmed, for we acknowledge our own incompetency to see to the contrary and so to deny it. In brief, the Bible, and not God, is the proper object of a Christian man's discussion; the Bible, and not God, is before our reason; the one is laid open to our inspection and enquiry; the other, how withdrawn from both!

I wish to be serviceable to such of my fellow creatures as, from the meanness of their natural endowments, are incapable of entering into enquiries of this nature
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for themselves. To this end I have undertaken the present publication, and after what I had already done I hoped to have found a collection of such passages as declare the faith of the primitive Christians, fully sufficient to remove doubts grounded on an opinion that they were Unitarians. To this I had intended to have confined myself, but the publication which has come under my notice since the commencement of the present work, has shewed me that I had not stooped quite low enough to comprehend every degree of mental imbecillity. There may be more, I hope but very few more, men whose talents do not exceed those of my Remarker; for their sake I have bowed myself still lower, and made this digression, for the length of which I hope this reason will be received as a sufficient apology. I shall stretch it but little farther, and then return with pleasure to the venerable Martyr whom we have so long wandered from. I choose to finish with the Remarker on this general topick at once, that we may get rid of his interruptions in the subsequent parts of the work.

This man has told his reader (and there may be a reader like the writer) that "I have delivered a doctrine calculated solely for the meridian of Rome, that if we admit it we throw the gates of our Church open to receive transubstantiation, and all the concomitant abominations of idolatrous worship," p. 4. Every reader of common sense, who has honoured my Scriptural Confutation with a perusal, knows to the contrary of this assertion. My doctrine is, that admitting God to have spoken, we should believe him, and rely upon his revelation. That being utterly unable to look into the possible relations of God or man, our reason cannot compare the two natures, and consequently cannot pronounce the impossibility of an union
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between them*. Now what similitude does this bear to the Remarker's charge against me? how does it follow hence that transubstantiation is to be received? Are the objects and their several relations alike before the tribunal of reason? No, there subsists this essential difference between them, that in the one case, which I have already stated, we have no perception of the relative qualities of God and of man, and consequently our reason must act only upon the revelation made by God, who can and does comprehend them both. Whereas in the other case the objects are in every part referable, being submitted to our senses; upon their testimony reason is competent to pronounce a judgment, and accordingly she puts a direct negative upon that relation to which our assent is required, she perceives the disagreement between bread and flesh, and also between wine and blood, and at once denies that either of these is the other. Can she thus decide upon the nature of God, or even upon the nature of man, that God shall be precluded by her decree from uniting with man? If he has said that he has done so, our modesty might inculcate belief, for our reason, whatever our presumption may, will never suggest that he has not.

Such assertions as are made in the holy Scriptures concerning the objects which are submitted to our comprehension, and which we find not literally true concerning them, we may venture to pronounce spoken figuratively; such as are made concerning incomprehensible objects we must take literally. When our Saviour, for instance, tells us that he is bread, that he is wine, that he is water, that he is a shepherd, a gate, a door, &c. &c. we know enough of bread, of wine, of water, &c. to make us perfectly certain that he is not,
strictly

* See Scriptural Confutation, p. 15, &c.

strictly speaking, any one of these; the predicate is such as cannot be literally declared of the subject. Whereas when he tells us that he and the Father are one, we do not know any thing of either of them, we do not comprehend their respective natures, to enable us to see the truth or falsehood of this upon any other ground than the credit of the speaker, and consequently we cannot contradict it. It is also the more to be relied upon as strictly true for that reason, for our Lord would probably not have spoken figuratively of matters, into which we could never look in order to develop the figure, and find the literal truth that lay concealed within it.

But how does my doctrine of reason restrain the liberty of thinking? I deny that that imagination of the brain, which is formed upon other principles than those which I have stated, is the result of thought; it is the offspring of error. Thinking (not thinking wrong, to which I will not allow the name, and which, however it may in reality be, I presume is not professedly the thing contended for) is proceeding from premises well understood to just conclusions resulting from them: It is the mind's looking about itself and observing upon the objects of its sense, not upon objects of which it has no sense whatever. No reasonable man sits listening to catch the music of the spheres, though, were they rendered audible, the ear is the sense they would strike upon. No reasonable man stands gazing up into heaven in hope of enjoying the beatific vision, though, were the bright effluence of our Maker's glory made perceptible to human sense, the eye is the organ through which we should receive it. In like manner no reasonable man casts abroad the eye of his mind in search of objects which he knows are not submitted to mental vision, though, were God to become com-

prehensible

prehensible by us, it is with our mental eye we should behold him. But I am told that we may have a partial view of the nature of God, and asked whether because “reason cannot comprehend the infinite and incomprehensible nature of God *,” whether because it cannot do all, it follows that it can do nothing †? To which I answer, that it does follow as in every other case, that from a partial view of the subject we never can be supplied with *clear, distinct, or adequate conceptions* of the whole, and therefore that we never can deny an assertion concerning the properties of the whole, only because we do not see how they are the properties of a part; nay, though we were to see that they were not the properties of the part which we had a view of. But with regard to the infinite God, in every attribute infinite, how much of him has our reason comprehended, that we should dare to set our peep into his nature in competition with the infinite reality, or declare ‡ that he is not a God of truth, if he give a subsequent declaration of his will, which does not agree with our previous ideas of him? which is there most of him within or without our mind? I ask this upon a supposition that we have had an intimation of his nature, and a course of conduct adapted to it, previous to the promulgation of his revealed will. A mariner afflicted by a calenture, may with equal justice complain that he is withheld from expatiating in the fantastick scenes which are figured to his eye by a distempered imagination, as my opponent, that he is restrained from thinking upon premises which his own imagination, and not their reality, has pictured to him. Give to each the liberty to pursue their courses and an equal fate shall betide them. They both relinquish their firm footing, they both plunge into an unfathomable ocean, alike they flounder, and alike the mariner and our Thinker

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* Scriptural Confutation.

† Remarks, p. 4.

‡ Ibidem.

are swallowed up and lost in unmeasurable depths. A Man, who at cross-roads has enquired of his way, may with equal justice complain that he cannot reach his journey's end by any other than the one true direction, and say I have treated him ill in having pointed out only one road to him. Let him however try the others for himself. What is the consequence? let him go on; so far shall he be from approaching his place of destination, that every step he moves forward but carries him so much farther from it. Go on and talk, I cannot help you; but as for thinking, go think if you can upon the truths of holy writ on other principles than those which are stated;—go and form conclusions upon no premises*.

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* Natural Religion at the utmost can only assure us that Nature has had a Creator; and if it be said that his unity, nay his attributes, are also clear from the same premises, I do not mean to controvert it. Farther than this it is impossible for us to conclude. This is, but a partial view of what revelation has more fully delivered, and never can be put into opposition with what is there declared. As to our reason being a communication of truth and a *revelation* itself, to which the Scripture, if it testify a Trinity in the Unity of God, is a contradiction, it is an absurdity to assert it. If a *first revelation, from God, of His nature* may be substituted for the word *reason*, which, I allow, is an universal gift to mankind, we have then an innate idea not only complex, but the archetype of which is infinite in every component quality. Are we then ushered into life without one simple idea, and yet furnished with not only a compound one, but with a compound idea adequate to an assemblage of every infinite attribute? Natural Religion can only mean a belief in a God inferred from his works. And what does such a religion say in contradiction to Christianity as we receive it? Does it follow from these same premises, which argue to the existence of a God, that the Divine shall not unite with the human nature, and that Jesus Christ is not one with the Father God? The only previous persuasion with which we are to come to the Scriptures is, that there is a God, with infinite and good attributes; the exercise of these we are unable to judge of; we admit that he has spoken, and in his word alone we can learn how he has exercised them; but we find this conduct inconceivable, (inconsistent it cannot be) it is yet all we can judge of him from; and that it is such a conduct as man does not comprehend, is with me an argument that it befits a Being I do not comprehend; and a certain proof that it is not a human fiction, for man would apply to God such a conduct as man would see applicable.

Once more I urge my desire to serve the meanest of my fellow creatures, as an excuse for taking up so much of my readers time in setting aside absurdity, which none, but men of talents similar to those of my Remarker, will think it was necessary to have bestowed a word upon. He had from a consciousness of his inability to subvert the received reading of Romans ix. 5, and consequently of removing our translation, proceeded to the rejection of revelation at large. In vindication of this process he has endeavoured to intimate that he was desirous of forming a little system, upon which the Bible ought to be thrown away. This I conjecture only, because of a few terms which occur up and down his book, such as *reason*, which he says is *a vehicle of information*; and *ideas of God*, which he says are *adequate*; and *certainty* resulting not from the *adequacy* of the *idea* to God, but a *perception* of its *agreement* or *disagreement* with itself, or some other of *reason's own ideas*. Larger bodies I know would pass through such a web without perhaps observing that any obstacle had been drawn across their way, but as I wish to save smaller animals from sticking in the thin-spun film, I have thought it better upon the whole to sweep it quite away. I hope therefore that I have now left my reader not only in possession of his Bible, but in a temper to retain it, though he should find it to teach doctrines which my Remarker cannot accede to; and that I have sufficiently proved the authenticity of the text to demand his acquiescence in the Godhead and Manhood of our Redeemer, since we are indisputably told, that of the Jews as concerning the flesh Christ came, and that he is over all God blessed for ever. —

Had the following words occurred in all the editions of St. Ignatius's epistle to the Ephesians, I should have produced them before. Archbishop Usher has given

them in the 33d page of his, but Cotelier has inserted them only in what he calls, and probably with justice, the interpolated epistles of Ignatius. What a man of Archbishop Usher's qualifications could admit into the text deserves however some degree of attention. "But we have also a Physician the Lord our God Jesus the Christ, before ages the only begotten Son and Word, but afterwards Man also of the Virgin Mary." For "the word was made flesh," John i. 14. Incorporeal in a body; exempt from sufferings in a body obnoxious to them; immortal in a mortal body; life in corruption*." This passage is of the same import as one quoted in p. 22 above, which see.——

Writing to the Magnesians the same Father tells them, "there is one Jesus Christ than whom nothing is better †." "Who was with the Father before all ages and in the end was made manifest ‡." He recommends concord and order to them, "Be ye subject to the Bishop and one to another as Jesus Christ is to the Father, as concerning the flesh, and the Apostles to Christ, and to the Father, and to the Spirit §." And
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* "Εχομεν ἱατρὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ λόγον, ὕψιστον δὲ καὶ ἀνδρωποῦν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγενετο· ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθής ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ.

† "Εἰς ἕστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὃ ἄμεινον οὐδὲν ἔστιν.

‡ "Ὁς πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν, καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη.

§ Ὑπόταγῃτε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.

in the conclusion he takes his leave of them saying, "Be ye strengthened in concord, possessing the inseparable spirit of God, who is Jesus Christ *."——

To the Trallians he gives a caution against Heresy, "Stand therefore on your guard against such (as maintain Heresies) and success shall await you if you be not puffed up, and that you adhere inseparably to our God Jesus Christ †."——

But in his epistle to the Romans he speaks so directly and so frequently to this point that he seems to bend his whole force against Unitarianism, and to bear his testimony to the Godhead of our Redeemer with increasing fervour, as he approached nearer to the martyrdom, that he was appointed to suffer for his name, and which he certainly considered as the most joyful event. He was under sentence of death, and on his way to execution, when he wrote before him to the Church at Rome, to solicit their acquiescence in his death,

* Εὐχόμεθα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, Θεῷ κεκλημένοι ἀδιάκριτον Πνεῦμα, ὃς ἐστὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Let it be remembered here, that I have removed the first comma in the sentence from coming after Θεῷ, where it appears in all the editions, and placed it after ὁμονοίᾳ. The sense is good either way, but the masculine pronoun ὃς, seems to require such a position of the words as shall mark its reference to Θεῷ, with which I am of opinion it agrees. If any meer grammarian shall think it refers to Πνεῦμα, he is at liberty to restore the old pointing. Let him however recollect, that it makes no difference in the doctrine, whether we say that Jesus Christ be God or be that Spirit. "Now the Lord is that Spirit," says St. Paul, 2 Corinthians iii. 17; and whether this be spoken of the Father, or Son, I care not; for if the Father, the assertion of Ignatius makes the Godhead of the Son and Father to agree; if the Son, the assertion is found to agree with St. Paul's doctrine;—and the Spirit is personified.

† Φυλάττεσθε ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, τὸτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φουσημένοις καὶ ἐσὶν ἀχωρίστοις Θεῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

death, that they would not interfere through an unseasonable good will in his behalf, and so take from him the opportunity of testifying his faith and confidence in Christ, but that they would suffer him to be devoured, be his torment never so extreme, that he may obtain his reward from him. He addresses himself to the church beloved and illuminated through the will of him who willeth all things that are “according to faith and the love of Jesus Christ our God and Saviour*.” He salutes them, and prays that they may have joy “in our Lord God Jesus Christ†.” He tells them that “our God Jesus Christ now that he is in the Father doth the more appear‡.” He desires their prayers, saying, “pray unto the Lord for me;” or as Wake turns it after an antient Greek manuscript, and after the old Latin version, “pray unto Christ for me§.” Fearful lest they to whom he wrote should seek to preserve his life, which he earnestly wishes to lay down, as he says himself, “that I may enjoy Jesus Christ||.” This stedfast Martyr beseeches them to let him become “the Freeman of Christ**.” And again entreats them saying, “suffer me to lay hold on or to enter into pure light, where being come I shall indeed be

* Κατὰ πίσιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Σωτήρι ἡμῶν. The expression here is exactly similar to 2 Peter i. 1.

† Ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.

‡ Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν Πατρὶ ὧν μαλλον φαίνεται.

§ Λιτανεύσας τὸν Κυρίον ὑπὲρ ἐμῶ. vel ut in mss. λιτανεύσας τῷ Χριστῷ ὑπὲρ ἐμῶ.

|| Ἰνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἐπιούχω.

** Ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

be the servant of God *.” He then breaks out into the following earnest request, “ Permit me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God †.” Are these equivocal terms? was Ignatius now an Unitarian? and yet the second century had commenced before this truly Christian man bore his last testimony to the divinity of our Lord. Archbishop Wake is of opinion that he did not suffer till the year 116, though the date of his martyrdom is more usually placed in the year 107.

THE RELATION OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS has been written by men who accompanied him from Antioch to Rome, and who had been witnesses of his condemnation and death. The old Latin interpretation of it has been given by Archbishop Usher. From this I make my extracts, as Wake from this made his translation. There is a Greek copy, which is evidently corrupt. Cotelier has given an edition of it. He has likewise republished the old Latin version from Usher.

When this venerable and constant spirited man stood before Trajan at Antioch, to receive condemnation for being a Christian, he confessed the charge boldly; and in a dialogue with the Emperour explained himself very fully upon it. He was surnamed THEOPHORUS (i. e. a Bearer of God) and alluding to the interpretation of this surname he replied to Trajan, who had opprobiously called him “ *Devil*,” “ no man should call Theophorus Devil,” “ for having within me Christ the heavenly King, I dissolve the devices of the Devil.”

To

* Ἀφίε μὲ καθαρόν φῶς λαμβάνειν· ἐκεῖ παραγεγόμενον· ἄνθρωπος Θεῷ ἴσομαι.

† Ἐάσειέ με μιμητὴν εἶναι πάσης τῆς Θεοῦ μὲ.

To the succeeding question of Trajan "and who is Theophorus?" he answered by thus translating the name, "he who has Christ in his breast." That Trajan understood him as declaring Christ to be God, the question which he put to him on receiving this answer will evince. "And do not we then seem to thee to have the Gods in our breast, who fight on our side against our enemies?" Ignatius having then declared that "they were evil spirits whom the Heathen esteemed to be Gods; that there is but one God, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them;" adds "and one Lord Jesus Christ his only begotten Son, whose favour may I enjoy." On which Trajan exclaimed, "his favour, you say, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" To which the Martyr subjoined, "who crucified sin with the inventour of it, and has put all the power and malice of the Devil under their feet, who bear him in their hearts." On this Trajan put his final interrogatory, "dost thou then carry Christ within thee?" and received an answer from Ignatius which must put his belief in our Lord's divinity beyond all farther controversy, for he says, "I do; for it is written I will dwell in them and walk in them*." Now where is this written? and by whom is it spoken? St. Paul shall tell us, "Ye are the temple

* *Traj.* Quis est tu, Cacodæmon? *Ignat.* Nullus THEOPHORUM vocat Cacodæmonem—Christum enim habens supercælestem Regem, dissolvo horum insidias. *Traj.* Et quis est Theophorus? *Ignat.* Qui Christum habet in pectore. *Traj.* Et nos non tibi videmur habere Deos in pectore, quos habemus auxiliares contra hostes? (Vel ut alias interpretatur "habere secundum intellectum Deos, quibus utimur compugnatoribus adversus adversarios?") *Ignat.* Dæmonia gentium Deos appellas; errans. unus enim est Deus, qui fecit cælum et terram et mare et omnia quæ in ipsis; et unus Jesus Christus filius ipsius unigenitus, cujus amicitia fruor. *Traj.* Crucifixum dicis sub Pontio Pilato? *Ignat.* Crucifigentem peccatum, cum ipsis inventore; et omnem condemnantem dæmoniacam malitiam sub pedibus eorum qui ipsum in corde ferunt. *Traj.* Tu igitur in teipso Christum circumfers? *Ignat.* Etiam. scriptum est enim. "Inhabitabo in ipsis et inambulabo."

ple of the living God; AS GOD HATH SAID; I will dwell in them, and walk in them," 2 Corinthians vi. 16. Leviticus xxvi. 12. So that Christ dwelt within Ignatius, according to a promise made by God that he would do so. The Emperour then proceeded to give judgement, that he should be carried bound to Rome, there to be devoured by wild beasts, "having confessed that he bears about within himself him that was crucified*." And upon hearing this sentence the undaunted man cried out with joy, "I thank thee O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards thee, and hast made me to be put in iron bonds with thine apostle Paul†." We have already seen him in his progress to Rome writing to all the Churches those epistles from which I have already drawn the few extracts that are given above, with a mind perfectly disengaged from anxiety on the approach of a violent death. We are now to behold him undergo it, and the very last action which is recorded of him is, that immediately before he was delivered to the beasts, "all the Brethren at Rome kneeling down with him, *he prayed to the Son of God* in behalf of the churches, that he would put a stop to the persecution, and encrease the love of the Brethren towards each other‡." The historians of the death of this Martyr conclude their account of it with an assignment of their reason for giving it, viz. That the anniversary may be set apart to commemorate it, "that being assembled according to the time of his martyrdom we may communicate with the combatant

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and

* *Trajanus sententiavit, Ignatium præcipimus in seipso dicentem circumferre crucifixum, vinctum duci, &c.*

† *Gratias ago tibi, domine, quia me perfectâ ad te charitate honorare dignatus es, cum Apostolo tuo Paulo vinculis collocari ferreis.*

‡ *Cum genuflexione omnium Fratrum, deprecans Filium Dei pro Ecclesiis, pro persecutionis quietatione, pro Fratrum adinvicem Charitate, &c.*

and valiant Martyr of Christ, who trod under-foot the Devil, and bare down his snares even unto the end, in his venerable and holy memory glorifying our Lord Jesus Christ: *through whom and with whom* all glory and power be to the Father, with *the Holy Ghost*, in the Holy Church for ever and ever. Amen*.” This account I have already said was written by men who accompanied St. Ignatius from Antioch to Rome, and had been themselves witnesses both to his trial and his death; they have given us a picture of his last moments, which were spent in prayer to Christ (and we do not hear that this Martyr saw Christ when he called upon him †) so that his practice concurred with the doctrines he delivered.—The writers of his martyrdom were themselves Christians also in no later than the beginning of the second century, and the concluding doxology, together with the concurrence which they declare the brethren to have testified with Ignatius, with whom they kneeled down and called upon Christ, afford incontestible proof that there were many Christians of that early age who were not Unitarians, and I believe that notwithstanding there were some heresies existing even then, the proof that any of the Church were of Mr. Lindsey’s way of thinking, is more than he can make out, however boldly he may have asserted it.

ST. POLYCARP was likewise the disciple of St. John, and by him appointed Bishop of Smyrna, over which Church he presided at the time when “the first and the last which was dead and is alive” bore testimony

* Ut secundum tempus Martyrii congregati, communicemus athletæ et virili Christi Martyri, qui conculcavit diabolum, et hujus insidias in finem prostravit; glorificantes, in ipsius venerabili et sanctâ memoriâ, dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum. per quem, et cum quo, Patri gloria et potentia, cum spiritu sancto, in sanctâ ecclesiâ in secula seculorum. Amen.

† See Apology, p. 129.

testimony to the purity of its religion, saying, "I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, *but thou art rich,*" Revelation ii. 8, 9. It is to be hoped that he has received from our Redeemer "a crown of life," as he has been found "faithful unto death," for with unshaken constancy he underwent the infliction of the severest torments for the sake of the name of Jesus Christ, in whose divinity we shall presently see him professing his belief, and, rather than relinquish it, yielding up his life at a stake. It is not decided whether he suffered under Antoninus Pius, in the year 147, or M. Aurelius, in the year 167. I rather conceive the former myself, for though it be certain that he lived to a very great age, it comes more within the limits of probability, that he survived Ignatius only forty than sixty years. They had been cotemporaries and received the doctrines of Christianity from St. John together, and when Ignatius was put to death they were both advanced in years. For the same reason I think the martyrdom of Ignatius more likely to have been inflicted in the year 116 than 107, for, these two dates being allowed of, the survivourship of Polycarp is reduced from sixty to no more than thirty-one years; which is yet a great difference in the ages of two old men.

St. Polycarp has left behind him one short epistle to the Philippians. Archbishop Wake has translated it into English. We have likewise a version of it by Doctor Cave annexed to his history of this Martyr's life.

As he writes to the Philippians he seems to refer to the epistle which St. Paul had formerly addressed to the same people, for after a benediction and prayer that "mercy and peace may be abundantly granted to

them by God Almighty and the Lord Jesus Christ *,” he speaks of our Lord in terms similar to those of the Apostle, *Philippians* ii. 10, as of him “to whom all things heavenly and earthly are subject, whom every breath worshippeth, who cometh the judge of the quick and the dead, whose blood God shall require of those who believe not on him” or “who are disobedient unto him †.” “For,” he farther says, “we are all before the eyes of the Lord and God, and we must all stand before the judgement seat of Christ, and each render an account for himself, let us therefore humbly serve him with fear and all reverence ‡.” Paul “knowing the terrour of the Lord” has used the same argument as a motive to the preservation of a good conscience; and knowing also that “it is written, every tongue shall confess to God,” urges the judgement seat of Christ, before which we shall all stand, every man to give an account of himself to God, as a reason for deferring to judge one another,” see *Romans* xiv. 10, 11, 12, and 2 *Corinthians* v. 10, 11. Having in another place of the same epistle quoted 1 *Peter* ii. 24, in which our Saviour is said to have borne our sins in his own body on the tree, and to have healed us by his stripes, St. Polycarp proceeds in his own person to say, “but he suffered all things for us that we might live in him, let us therefore imitate his patience, and if we suffer

* Ἐλεος ἐμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεῷ πατοκράτορος καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Σωτήρι τῶν ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.

† Ὡς ἐπιτάγη τὰ πάντα ὑπεράντια καὶ ἐπιγεία, ὃ πάντα πνοὴ λαβεῖν, ὅς ἐρχεται κρίσις ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν· ὃ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσει· ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθέων ἀντίω.

‡ Ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ ἴσμεν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντες δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δῆναι· ὥτως ἐν δελεύσωμεν ἀντὶ μὴ φόβου καὶ πάσης ἐνλαβείας.

suffer for his name let us glorify him*.” He then exhorts them to follow the example of patience which was set them by Ignatius, by Paul, and the rest of the Apostles and Martyrs, “being confident that all these have not run in vain but in faith and righteousness, and are gone to the place which was due to them from the Lord, with whom also they suffered †.”

From these few extracts taken from the only short work of Polycarp, we may clearly see what was the faith of this holy man, to whom he preferred worship, to whom he ascribed glory and reverence, and from whom he expected the promised reward of his patience, even from our Lord Jesus Christ, who had promised him a crown of life if he were found faithful unto death, Rev. ii. 10. And faithful unto death we shall find that he was from the history of his martyrdom delivered by persons present at his sufferings. For in an EPISTLE FROM THE CHURCH AT SMYRNA directed to the Church of God at Philadelphia, on which it calls down “the multiplication of peace and love from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ ‡,” we learn that he was burned to death at Smyrna in the presence of his own church. This epistle has been published by Archbishop Usher, and from his edition, in Vale-

sius’s

* Ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινε. Μίμηται ἔν γενόμεθα τῆς ὑπόμονῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐάν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξαζόμεν αὐτόν.

† Πεπεισμένός ἐστι πάντες ἐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον· ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εἰς τὸν οφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσι παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον.

‡ Ἐλεος, εἰρήνη, καὶ ἀγάπη Θεῷ Πατρί, καὶ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πληθυνθείη.

fius's notes upon Eusebius, who has only given a part of it in his history. Archbishop Wake has translated this epistle also into English.

The writers in the course of their relation, speaking of the holy Martyrs of Christ who had suffered at Smyrna, say, that not so much as a sigh or groan escaped them, "for being supported by the grace of Christ they despised all the torments of the world *; and concerning Polycarp himself they declare, that when the Proconsul would with promises of liberty have persuaded him to "reproach Christ †," he gave for answer, "eighty and six years have I now served Christ, and he hath never done me the least injury, how then can I blaspheme my Saviour and my King ‡?" Even at the moment when he was tied to the stake and the executioner about to light the fire, he expressed his gratitude to God for bringing him into the number of his Martyrs, "for this and for all things else I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High Priest Jesus Christ thy beloved Son, through whom, to thee, with him in the Holy Ghost be glory both now and to all succeeding ages. Amen §." These were the last words of this steadfast man,

* Προσέχουσιν τῇ τῷ Χριστῷ χάριτι, τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνων βασάνων.

† Λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστὸν.

‡ Ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑξῆς ἔτη δεξιῶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔδεν με ἡδίκησε. καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σωσάντα με.

§ Διὰ τῆτο, καὶ περὶ πάντων ᾧ αἰνῶ, ᾧ ἑυλογῶ, ᾧ δοξάζω, διὰ τῷ αἰωνίῳ ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ᾧ παιδός· δι' οὗ σοι ᾧ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τὰς μέλλουσας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Archbishop Wake has translated this passage, from

man, who suffered about the middle of the second century ; and though I do not desire to make even this disciple of our Lord's immediate witnesses a witness himself, from whom we should derive any acquaintance with the nature of our Lord, yet his words may testify thus much to a certainty, that he did himself believe the divinity not only of our Saviour but also of the Holy Ghost, for he here dies with a doxology to the whole Trinity as explicit as any that has been used since his day.

But let us say that the writers of this epistle are not to be credited in their relation of St. Polycarp's death, it amounts equally to a confutation of Mr. Lindsey's assertion, for they were themselves cotemporary with their Bishop ; and supposing that Polycarp had never uttered such words, the Church of Smyrna, which has ascribed them to him, has undoubtedly expressed its own tenets, and they were a very early body of Christian men, who were therefore not Unitarians.

But the historians of this Martyrdom proceed to give a still closer testimony of their own belief in Christ, for they tell us, that Nicetas urged the Governor not to suffer the Smyrnæans to take away the bones of Polycarp, "left," says he, "forsaking him that was crucified, they should begin to worship this Polycarp ; and this he said at the suggestion and instance of the Jews, who also watched us that we should not take any part of him out of the fire ; not knowing that neither is it possible for us to forsake Christ, who suffered

from a copy which I have not, as follows : "For this and for all things else I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, with whom, to thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory, both now and to all succeeding ages. Amen."

ferred for the salvation of all such as shall be saved throughout the whole world, the righteous for the ungodly; nor worship any other besides him, for him indeed who is the Son of God we do adore; but for the Martyrs we worthily love them as the disciples and imitators of our Lord, and on account of their exceeding great devotion towards their King and Master *.” Farther on the writer’s desire that the epistle when read may be sent unto the Brethren that are at a distance, “ that they also may glorify the Lord who maketh such choice of his own servants, and is able to bring all of us by his grace and help to his eternal kingdom, through his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, and honour, and power, and majesty for ever and ever. Amen †.” But as this doxology may be supposed (however perversely ‡) to refer to the

* Μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐστυρομένον, τῷτον ἀρχαίῳι ῥέβειν· καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποδαλόνων καὶ ἐνισχυσάνων Ἰεσδαίων, οἱ γὰρ εἰήρησαν μελλόνων ἡμῶν ἐκ τῷ πυρός αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν· ἀγνοήτες ὅτι ἔτε τὸν Χριστὸν πολὺ καλαλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπερ τῆς τῷ παντὸς κόσμῳ τῶν σωζομένων Σωτηρίας παθόντα, ἔτε ἕτερον τίνα ῥέβειν· τῷτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν υἴα τῷ Θεῷ προσκυνῶμεν, τέες δὲ μαρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ μιμητὰς, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἐνεκα ἐννοίας ἀνυπέβλεθη τῆς εἰς τὸν ἰδιὸν βασιλεία καὶ διδάσκαλον.

† Ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάζωσι τὸν Κυρίον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιῶντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δέλων: τῷ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χάριτι, καὶ δωρεᾷ, εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτῇ βασιλείαν, διὰ παιδὸς αὐτῆς τῷ μονογενεῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλυσύνῃ εἰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

‡ I expect the doxology quoted from St. Clement, p. 13 above, will come under the same misinterpretation. St. Clement has, besides the epistle which has descended to our time, written several others which were extant in the days of Eusebius, who quotes Gaius, saying, that “ by Clement and several others Christ is declared to be God,” Cambridge edition, 1720, book 5, chap. 28. p. 252. Gaius was himself a writer in the beginning of the

the name of God preceding his incarnate name Jesus Christ, the following passage, from the same epistle, may serve to remove such a suggestion, and obviate any Unitarian inferences that might be drawn from it, for when the writers are giving the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, they say "he was taken by Herod, Philip the Trallian being High-Priest; Stratius Quadratus Proconsul; but our Saviour Christ reigning for evermore, to whom be honour, glory, majesty, and an eternal throne from generation to generation. Amen *;" and then conclude their epistle, praying for all happiness to the Brethren, "by living according to the rule of the gospel of Jesus Christ, with whom glory be to God the Father and the Holy Ghost, for the salvation of his chosen saints †."

Though, for the greater uniformity, I have produced the names of Ignatius and Polycarp in the second cen-
H tury,

the third century, and I shall hereafter bring a larger testimony than this, that *he* was not an Unitarian. But with respect to St. Clement, from whom however I have supplied some strong passages, supposing that not one of them be allowed to me, I answer in the words of Bishop Bull on the same subject, "Mihi sanè perridiculi semper visi sunt, qui cum epistolam aliquam veteris Scriptoris, aut breviusculum tractatum (unicum illud & forte indubitatum authoris *ᾠζόμενον*) legunt, in eoque sentiunt dogma aliquod christianæ fidei vel omnino intactum, vel non satis liquido explicatum esse (authore scilicet, re exigente, in aliud intento) continuò scriptorem ipsum, nescio cujus hæresis suspectum habent. Sed nobis sufficit quod ipse Clemens in epistolâ suâ nusquam (Photio ipso favente) Christum Dominum blasphemet."

* Συνέληφθη ὑπο Ἡρώδου, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανῷ, ἀνθυπαλεύοντι. Στρατίου Κουδράτου, βασιλεύοντι δὲ εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, μεγαλωσύνη, θεοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπο γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. Ἀμήν.

† Ἐξῆσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐυχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, σοιχῆντας τῷ. καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, λογῶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μετ' εἰς δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Πατρὶ, καὶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐπὶ σωτήρια τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκλεκτῶν.

tury, I do not consider the first age of the Church to have closed till these venerable men were withdrawn from her. They had been the disciples of our Lord's immediate witnesses, and we may therefore suppose preserved the purity of our religion untainted. Their precept and their practice I have now laid before my reader; I have shewed them active in propagating the true belief, and pouring out their blood to testify that this belief is in the Godhead of our Saviour; I have produced their frequent recommendations to worship and rely upon Christ; and I have exhibited them both in their last moments, testifying their own reliance on him; in expectation of their reward from him, committing their spirits into the hands of their Redeemer; and even expiring with a doxology to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But this is not all, "the flocks of God, which he had purchased with his own blood" and committed to the care of these faithful shepherds, have been presented to the reader's view, and have made it very apparent with what food they had been nourished by them. These also we find repeatedly glorifying the three Persons in one Godhead. Shall we now say that a Trinity was the invention of a subsequent age? that a belief in the Godhead of Christ was a late corruption of the Gospel; and with Paul of Samosata, who, like Mr. Lindsey, *amended* the Liturgy of his time, pronounce the worship of our Lord an innovation, and "abolish the Psalms sung to Jesus Christ as novel and the productions of modern men?" Let Paul himself confute the assertion so far as the question now agitating is concerned, for if he had such a worship to abolish, it must have subsisted in the second century, and therefore it was not an innovation after the close of the third; but I shall reserve the particular detail of Paul's condemnation for its proper place, I now only allude to it, in order to shew that

Christ

Christ was the subject of sacred hymns during the time of the first Christians, and to confirm the more particular testimony of Pliny, the minister of Trajan, and cotemporary of these Apostolic Fathers, who declares of the Christians that it was their custom “to sing responsive hymns to Christ as to God *.”

Had Heresy gone abroad and calumniated the truth, we should hardly have found her assertours more explicit in maintaining the divinity of our Saviour than these early disciples of the Gospel have been. It is true that some corrupted doctrines had been broached even in the days of the Apostles themselves, as from their writings we may collect; in those of their immediate successors the number encreased, but they had not yet obtained consequence enough to provoke a controversy, in which men setting themselves against error are always more direct to the point mistaken, and more express in establishing the particular truth from which the deviation had been made. They endeavour to give it strength to maintain its ground against the assault which has been made upon it. The same sun which warms the blossom into sweetness, vivifies the canker that consumes its beauty. Time, the reputed parent of truth, gives birth likewise to many an error which would supplant her. And hence we may very easily account for the encreasing particularity with which the advocates of truth defend her; wherever the enemy appears they present themselves, and wherever a breach has been attempted they fly to occupy the scene and repel the attack. It is a disingenuous fallacy to say that every new expression for an old doctrine, is itself a new doctrine; or that a more explicit assertion of an antient tenet, is the introduction of a new tenet. I am bold to say there is no man who, having found

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himself

* *Carmenque Christo quasi Deo canere secum invicem.*

Plin. Lib. 10. Epist. 97.

himself misapprehended upon the first delivery of his sentiments, would not, upon a call to explain himself, give other terms to a repetition of his opinion, and this too without making the smallest alteration in it. In the same manner, misapprehended or wilfully misrepresented, Christianity required the explanation of its adherents to vindicate it, and they have repeated in other words those tenets which had been misapprehended as at first delivered. As error spread, it became necessary, in order to obstruct its progress, to send abroad the truth in as concise terms as it could be summed into. Hence creeds were framed, and hence, as the separate tenets of our religion met with opposition, those tenets were more largely avowed, and added from time to time to those professions of faith by which, as we make them in the congregation, we assure one another that we are members of one and the same communion, and not of the communion of those who deny these truths. Is the body of the Church to dangle after every dissenter? and if not, is it not necessary to give a marked expression to the doctrines which it retains, though dissented from? In these doctrines the distinction lies, and our adherence should be rendered obvious by terms too perspicuous to admit of being wrested. General terms will do well where all concur, but where variance subsists, a language that shall discriminate professions becomes indispensably requisite. And I cannot agree with Mr. Lindsey in thinking that the latter clause of our doxology (*viz. As it was in the beginning is now, &c.*) had either "an unchristian or uncharitable origin, because it was added by St. Jerom, lest crafty heretics might still have gone on with their blasphemy in understanding the Son of God not to have existed always with the Father, but to have had a beginning of existence," see Apol. p. 119. I cannot conceive a better reason for the addition; and I think also

also that a denial of the procedure of the Holy Ghost from the Son was a full justification of those who added *and the Son* to the clause in the Nicene Creed, which now says that he “proceedeth from the Father *and the Son.*” He does proceed from the Son, and what matter when it was first professed in a creed; it was without doubt judiciously inserted whenever the fact, which it affirms, came first to be denied. There is scarce a common-place sentiment existing on which volumes have not been written, the original simplicity of the thought is still however unimpaired. Heterodox tenets have called men to abet the doctrines of the holy Scriptures, and in the performance of this duty they have indeed swelled to volumes of enormous magnitude; there is nothing so plain on which we may not enlarge; and can they be blamed who have made the word of God their subject, especially when they saw that there was nothing so plain which might not be mistaken, and which error might not pervert? The original simplicity of the Gospel is still however unimpaired, and with the properties of a right line continues a test of all that can be spoken concerning the nature of our Creator and Redeemer; to this whatever doctrines are written must finally be referred, to this they must be brought as to a standard, and by their conformity with, or deviation from, this, we must determine upon their rectitude or perversion; the circumstance that induced them is out of the question, whether it be the confutation of a new doctrine which makes us large and particular in the vindication of the old, or the natural warmth of conviction which animates our utterance of an interesting persuasion.—We find, however, that without the stimulus of controversy, the Apostolic Fathers have all declared their firm belief in the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and though I will not go so far upon these grounds as to say that therefore he is one with the Father God, I will
yet

yet infer the conclusion which necessarily results, therefore the Apostolick Fathers, and consequently all Christian people of their age, were not Unitarians. Many writers have ascribed inspiration to these reverend men : If any reader concur in this sentiment, he must deduce a larger inference than I have ventured to draw from their assertions. Though I cannot go so far, I must however say that the tenets of the Instructor are in a great measure deducible from those of the Disciple, and therefore that the works of the Apostolick Fathers may very well serve to illustrate the writings of the Apostles themselves, whose disciples or associates they had been.*

Were there any reason to acquiesce in the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, I should have investigated the faith of this immediate convert to the preaching of St. Paul, Acts xvii. 34, before I had entered upon an enquiry into the doctrines of the subsequent Fathers of the Church, who did not derive their Christianity directly from the Apostles, but were instructed in it by their disciples, or by the study of the holy Scriptures as they were now sent out into all the world. From a state of the sentiments, however, of a writer who flourished so early as the middle of the second century, and in the year 177, presented an apology for the Christians to M. Aurelius Antoninus, the tenets originally embraced by the Church of Athens may be very reasonably collected, those entertained in the time of our author himself irrefragably proved.

Thus then writes ATHENAGORAS, the Christian Philosopher at Athens, in his “ Ambassy for the Christians,”

* Archbishop Wake, by a translation sufficiently faithful, has made all their genuine remains, together with the martyrdom of the two last, accessible to the English reader.

ftians," which, with another little tract on the refurrection, are all the remains of this author now extant.

The Son of God is his fubject, of whom he affirms that "by him and through him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one, the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, in the unity and power of the Spirit *." He then proceeds more largely to declare his belief in the divinity of the Holy Ghof, and having professed it, fums up the whole doctrine he had been delivering, and oppofes it to the calumny of the Gentiles againft the Chriftians, faying, "who is he then that will not hesitate to believe when he hears us called Men without a God, who preach the Father to be God, the Son to be God, and the Holy Ghof, who manifef, their power in unity and their diftinction in order? †" and again he fays, that the Chriftians fet but little value on a life of fenfuality, that they look to a future ftate, and therefore make it their bufinefs "to know God and his word, what is the unity of the Son with the Father, what the community of the Father with the Son, what is the Spirit, what is the Unity," or to borrow an expreffion from Mr. Lindfey, "the Onenefs of thefe who are fo many, and what is the diftinction of thefe who are

* Περὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἑνὸς ὄντος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ὑιῷ ὄντος δὲ τῷ Ὑιῷ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατὴρ ἐν Ὑιῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος. Πρεσβεία πέρι Χριστιανῶν, p. 38, Oxford edit. 16mo, 1682.

† Τίς ἔν ἑκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι, λεγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα, καὶ Ὑιὸν Θεόν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον: δεικνύσας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέτους καλε- μένους. P. 41.

are one, the Spirit, the Son, the Father*.” He farther endeavours to make the unity of the Father and his “inseparable Son †” intelligible to the Emperours M. Aurelius Antoninus, and his son and partner in government L. Aurelius Commodus, by exemplifying it in the unity of their empire ‡.

An

* Θεὸν καὶ τὸν πατρὶς αὐτῷ λόγον εἶδεναι, τὶς ἢ τῷ πατρὶς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἐνότης, τὶς ἢ τῷ Πατρὶς πρὸς τὸν Ὑιὸν κοινωνία, τὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὶς ἢ τῶν τούτων ἐνωσις, καὶ διαίρεσις ἐνυμένων, τῷ Πνεύματι, τῷ Παιδί, τῷ Πατρί. P. 49.

† Ὑιὶ ἀμερισῶ. P. 70.

‡ Ausonius, who wrote just fifty years after the council of Nice, in a poem entitled *Versus Paschalis*, makes a most horribly blasphemous address to Valentinianus, Gratianus, and Valens. His subject is the Resurrection, &c. After having recited his belief in the Trinity, having called Christ “the Word, and God, Verbum, Deumque,” declared him “equal to the Father, Patri parem;” and having professed “his faith in a Trinity in the Unity of God, his firm hope of salvation from embracing this number and adding virtues to his faith,

Trina fides, Auctore uno; spes certa salutis

Hunc numerum junctis virtutibus amplectenti,”

he compliments Valentinianus with the paternal Character; and in conjunction with his son and brother Gratianus and Valens, whom he had taken into partnership of empire, he pronounces them all together a Trinity in Unity. The application is very different, but the thought is the same with that of the pious Athenagoras.

Besides this, some remarkable expressions occur in the poems of Ausonius; he lived in the fourth century, and therefore I shall throw them into the note. In a poem entitled *Gryphus* he says,

Tres Deus unus. V. 88. | The one God is three.

In another, titled <i>Ephemeris</i> , he allots the first hours of the day to prayer,	
Deus precandus est mihi,	God is to be invoked by me, and
Ac Filius summi Dei,	the Son of the most high God,
Majestas uniusmodi,	their Majesty in conjunction with
Sociata sacro Spiritu.	the Holy Ghost being equal, or
	of one nature.

And

An attempt to illustrate the mystery of godliness, by which we learn that God was made manifest in the flesh, and know that our crucified Saviour is one with the Father, the God who purchased us with his own blood, 1 Timothy iii. 16, and Acts xx. 28, must for ever fail of rendering it comprehensible by us. The Fathers have nevertheless frequently attempted to bring parallels from objects we are acquainted with, in order to introduce us in some degree to the knowledge of a matter which cannot have its parallel in created nature. If therefore, in the course of this work, I shall produce any of their efforts to elucidate the Trinity, or the eternal generation or procedure of the Son or Spirit, I shall do it not with a view of elucidating the subject myself, or shewing that they entertained any more adequate idea of it than we possess, but of proving to a certainty that they firmly believed in it. For they would not have taken pains to form, or endeavoured to communicate adequate ideas of a doctrine which they did not believe. It is not the wisdom or the sagacity of the Fathers that I am about to exhibit, but their faith. That they did not see the limits of their own faculties, nor consider that the subject of their researches is placed beyond their utmost extent, is no reason for saying that they did not believe what they made ineffectual efforts to explain; they must have believed it in order to prompt the endeavour. The coëvality of the sun and his brightness which, though generated from him, is yet a

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fine

And then proceeding to the prayer itself he addresses it to Christ, whom he calls upon by the titles of

Salvator, Deus, ac Dominus, Mens, Gloria, Verbum.

Filius, ex Vero Verus, de Lumine Lumen. Ver. 81.

Saviour, God and Lord, Mind, Glory, Word, Son, very *God* of very *God*, Light of Light.

Though Ausonius wrote after the council of Nice, we find a singular concurrence between his language and that of the Antenicene Athenagoras, whose words or sentiments were certainly not borrowed from the decisions of that great Synod.

fine quâ non of his existence; of a springing fountain and its effluent stream; and such-like examples are brought very frequently to illustrate the coëternity of God and his inherent wisdom; the coëternity and unity of the Father and the Son; and we shall in the following passage, the last which I mean to bring in evidence of its author's belief, find Athenagoras endeavouring by an example to set the unity and procedure of the Holy Ghost before our understanding, for he says, "we profess God and the Son his word and the Holy Ghost, and that the Father, the Son, and the *Holy Ghost* are truly one as concerning power; that the Son is the Mind, the Word, the Wisdom of the Father; and the Holy Ghost a proceeding Effluence as Light is from fire *."

St. Paul himself preached Christ at Athens, where we see that he was still considered to be the God which the Apostle had declared him. *Acts xvii. see also Scriptural Conf. p. 94.* I think therefore that from these few extracts taken from *the embassy of Athenagoras*, I may fairly hope for my readers concurrence in this conclusion, that neither this ambassadour nor the Athenian Christians, whose sentiments he was employed to represent to the Emperour, were Unitarians.

Unitarians so seldom make affirmative propositions, that it must appear to them a very extraordinary instance of generosity in me not to put them to the proof of their own assertions, and sit down as they usually do themselves in the indolent possession of a negative. Perhaps they affirmed for once, in hopes that nothing but

* Θεόν Φαμὲν, καὶ Υἱὸν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐνέμενα μὲν κατὰ δυνάμιν τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱόν, τὸ Πνεῦμα. ὅτι νῆς, λογὸς, σοφία, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἀπορρέουσα ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα: P. 110.

but an unsupported denial would be given. It may be bold to undertake the proof of a negative, they may call it illogical, and I grant it would have been more easy to have called on them to make good what they had affirmed. The testimony, however, on which alone it could have been supported, is as open to my enquiry as to theirs, and I was referred to an enquiry in order to ascertain its *undeniable truth*. This I have accordingly proceeded to make, and how far I have found the assertion deniable or undeniable I now proceed to shew. Though the great truths of religion by no means depend upon what opinions any set of men have entertained of them, it is of importance to take away every prop on which error may even hope to support herself. I had before endeavoured to merge her in the waters of the sacred fountain, where in the end she must drown; but in order to cut off every hope of recovery, every respite, and to prevent her power to lift her pernicious head again, I now tear away from the bank every bough, every reed at which she might catch and delay her own extirpation. I had already shewn that the word of God altogether opposed the Deism of the Unitarians; the Fathers have been implored to protect the tenet, they too refuse their succour; and when in the end I shall have made this fully appear, I shall appear myself to have argued to somewhat more than a meer negative; a negative pregnant with an affirmation, to whose delivery I shall leave the judgement of my reader to act the midwife.

The earliest of the Fathers who drew their belief from the holy Scriptures without any personal knowledge of their inspired writers, is JUSTIN MARTYR. He was a Samaritan, the Son of a Gentile, who had

been sent by Flavius Vespasianus, with other colonists, into the city antiently called Sichem, but from that Emperour's prenomen afterwards denominated Flavia.

The adjunct to this eminent man's name, which he has always borne since his sufferings, points out that he preferred the forfeit of his life to the surrender of his Christianity. He did so, for at the instance of Crescens, a Philosopher at Rome, he was brought to bear the last testimony to the sincerity of his faith, and on the alternative being proposed to him, declared that he desired nothing more earnestly than to endure torments for the sake of Jesus Christ, as he might thence hope to obtain salvation, and to appear with fuller confidence before the dreadful tribunal of our Lord and Saviour. He was accordingly first whipped with scourges, and afterwards, upon his perseverance, beheaded at Rome A. D. 164, under M. Aurelius Antoninus; an Emperour who tarnished the brightness of a virtuous name by sprinkling it over with a lamentable effusion of Christian blood.

There subsists so singular a contrast between the conduct of this ingenuous man and that of our modern Unitarians, that I cannot avoid a short digression in order to mark it to my reader.

Though a native of Samaria, he was not only brought up in ignorance of the Jewish Law, but even of the language of the country in which he was born. His father, who was a Gentile, had instructed him in the tenets he embraced himself, and accordingly we find that the son had, at an early period of his life, become a very great proficient in the philosophy of the Gentiles. He earnestly wished to acquire a knowledge of the truth, and with an impartiality fitted to such a pursuit

pursuit sought for her, not by an attachment to the dogmas of any one master, but by a diligent enquiry into the tenets of all, and in the end we find him declare himself dissatisfied with his researches; that neither the Peripateticks nor Stoicks, the followers of Pythagoras nor of Plato, had rendered him any satisfactory account of the Supreme Being, of the nature or destination of the human soul.

The object of his pursuit was high, and as his ardour was suitable, it is not to be conceived that he should relinquish it upon this disappointment; a speculative habit, acquired by much reading, had qualified him for perseverance, and he determined to try whether his own suggestions on the subject might not prove more successful than those of men whose opinions he had already condemned. Solitude was more favourable to such an enquiry as he was now engaged in, than the haunts of men; he accordingly sought for retirement, and withdrawing from the converse of the world, in an agreeable narrative, presents himself to our view taking a lonely walk on the sea-shore; working on his own ideas towards the discovery of the nature of God.

While thus philosophically employed, he informs us himself, that one day he was accosted by an unknown old man *, of a venerable and benevolent countenance, to whom,

* Whatever occurs in the ancient writers of history of a speculative nature, we find to be an inference from a fact stated, without any seeming view to the deduction, but to the unadulterated representation of which the historian appears to have religiously attended. Whatever occurs in the modern writers of history of a narrative nature, we find to be an inference from a system previously assumed; without any seeming view to the truth of the facts recorded, but to the establishment of which the historian appears, through every species of misrepresentation, to have zealously directed

whom, in the course of a conversation, he communicated the occasion of his solitude, and the little satisfaction he found himself able to obtain concerning the object of his disquisition. That, on this complaint, the old man referred his inquisitive mind to the prophets, as a better and surer guide to the true knowledge and understanding of God, than the writings among which he had heretofore looked for it. That on this recommendation he accordingly turned to the study of the sacred Scriptures, and, acquiescing in the great truths revealed therein, adhered to them as the only means by which God can be known to man. He pronounces on this occasion his supreme contempt of all the Gentile schools; but

ed his force. The late Mr. Hume, for instance, converted the history of this nation into a defence of the Stuart principles of government: To this end he has adduced facts only as arguments, has warped the train of events from their real course of succession, and, in order to render them subservient to his predetermined conclusion, has bestowed on each that false colouring which may give it, in some degree, the appearance of a case in point. A similar plan has been since pursued; and as the subversion of freedom was the evident purpose of Mr. Hume in writing *the history of England*, so, I fear, we may with too much justice affirm the subversion of Christianity to be the object of Mr. Gibbon in writing *the history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*. As a narrative founded on the authority of antient writers must have defeated his end, it is curious to observe the subtlety and variety of those artifices with which this gentleman has endeavoured to work away their credit, and thus to obtain a favourable reception for his own substituted conjectures as a superior ground of history. To one alone I shall now advert, because it has been directed against the veracity of that father who is immediately under my consideration. It is briefly this: When an antient, and particularly a Christian writer makes an assertion, the admission of which might be found inconsistent with Mr. Gibbon's hypothesis, he feigns a position which may shake the faith of his reader, and, ascribing this to the author from whose pen it never flowed, descants on his credulity, and inculcates the necessity of standing on our guard against the danger of too implicit confidence in one at the least liable to imposition, and whose authority is therefore not sufficient to remove the perplexities thus introduced into the sceptical mind. I have laid this charge generally, because I shall hereafter bring farther proofs of its truth, at present let us exemplify it in our historian's warning against the credibility of Justin.

“ Justin

but of the word of God declares, “ this alone I found to be a steady and profitable philosophy.” *

Such is the account of this worthy man’s conversion to Christianity, and such the mazes in which he wandered before he found his feet fixed on certain ground. We at length, however, see him stationed on a rock, and thankful to heaven for having placed him there. It was not the pursuit, but the substantial attainment of truth with which his mind could be satisfied.—Let us now turn to the opposite character so eminently exhibited in our own day.

Instructed from early infancy in the doctrine of one God, the Father and Maker of all things earthly and heavenly; of our own fall, and restoration by the death of a body assumed by the eternal Son, that through his blood, shed as a sacrifice for us, we might receive the atonement; of the assistance of the Holy Ghost proceed-

“ Justin Martyr,” he affirms, “ had sought divine knowledge in the schools of Zeno, of Aristotle, of Pythagoras, and of Plato, before he fortunately was accosted by the old man, *or rather the angel*, who turned his attention to the study of the Jewish prophets.” Gibbon’s Hist. of Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. p. 514.

Now I would have my reader understand, that for this interpretation of the old man’s character and conversion into an angel, Justin has not afforded the slightest authority, but “ the story is prettily told in Justin’s dialogue. Tillemont, who relates it after him, is sure that the old man was a disguised angel.” *Gibbon. note on the above passage.* But is Mr. Gibbon sure, that he thus adopts the conjectures of Tillemont into the text? It is true the conjecture is modern, while the testimony of the martyr himself labours under the defect of antiquity; yet still I ask, does the historian adopt it as his own opinion, that it was an angel rather than an old man that accosted Justin; or does he not rather, for the convenient ruin of Justin’s credit, thus insinuate, that he is authorized to make the assertion by the testimony of the martyr himself?

* Τάυτην μόνην εὑρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον.
Justin. Martyr, Dial. cum Tryphone Judæo, p. 225. edit. Par. 1630. folio.

proceeding from the Father and the Son*, suggesting and abetting our good purposes of faithful obedience to the will of God, and taught to hope that our fruitful faith in the one Godhead of these three persons is to be rewarded with eternal felicity; and not only so instructed, but, when of competent years, furnished with the infallible testimony of God's own word that these things are so, we commence our life at that point to which Justin Martyr at length arrived after an intricate and tedious process. We are as it were the natives of a country towards which he bent his course, and where he rejoiced to abide. Why then do not we find the same satisfaction at home that a foreigner declares he has experienced among us? It is certain however that some do not enjoy it, their restless spirits, unfitted to the terra firma of truth, launch out again into the uncertain and deceitful depths of philosophy from which he rejoiced to escape. He proceeded from philosophy to christianity; they endeavour to measure back his steps from christianity to philosophy, and of this the utmost pride, to which I doubt but few among them shall attain, is an assent to Deism. And even here what are the grounds of assent, and what the assent granted? The one at the very utmost can ascend no higher than probability; the other, by a necessary consequence, cannot exceed belief. And what more than belief does Christianity demand; and are its grounds of probability inferiour to those on which a philosophic religion is contended for?

It is not knowledge that is required of us, and consequently there does not subsist any necessity for a mathematical demonstration, in which the conclusion is drawn

* *Quæ potest esse magis spiritatis oratio quam quæ a Christo nobis data est, a quo nobis et Spiritus Sanctus missus est?* Cyprian. de Oratione Dominica, lib. p. 139.

drawn from premises intuitively certain, or premises which have by inference already deduced their certainty from such as are so. As every defect in these is necessarily derived to the conclusion, from the ascertainment of these alone, the conclusion can be rendered certain, or knowledge may with justice be predicated of the conclusion. Suppose a geometrical controversy, and that here the disputants were, without proof, and upon mere presumption, to admit the equality of the three angles of a right-lined triangle with two right angles, as the ground-work of enquiry, and proceeding thenceforward to deduce every consequent inference. Should any difference arise between them, concerning the grounds of their process, could either call the other to the proof of what had been before conceded, or could knowledge have been the object sought for when the concession was made? Axioms were precluded, and therefore probability alone could attend upon the nicest deductions: but this defect of certainty 'would arise, not from false or doubtful argumentation, but from a neglect to ascertain the first position admitted as a principle; for had this been done, the conclusion, if justly inferred, must also have been necessarily certain. Thus, with regard to Christianity, we may deduce from the Bible what is certainly true, provided the Bible be certainly true; but the certainty of revelation is not capable of a mathematical demonstration, so that we are forced to rest here; arguments for its high probability are therefore all that can be brought, and consequently no more can be adduced to our religion: But the Bible being once admitted, all appeal to antecedent revelation, as Reason has been stupidly denominated, is precluded. Were the Bible certain, then were the Trinity certain: but it is only probable, herein then lies the defect of certainty in the inference; and therefore our faith alone is all that can be afforded to it; it

is indeed all that is required, and all to which merit can in any sense be ascribed; for knowledge has no counterpoise to call for the interposition of the will, without some act of which, and that too conducted by the grace of the Almighty, it is impossible for us to deserve, or rather to claim the imputation of that merit which has superseded the transmitted sin of our first Father. Faith stands at an equal distance from knowledge as from infidelity, it coexists not with either. Infidelity, which is its direct contradictory, of course implies that faith has not obtained existence, while in knowledge it is terminated and swallowed up, as hope is in fruition. And do we then complain that we have not that knowledge which must supersede the rewards graciously annexed to our attested obedience of an injunction to believe, while it is evident that too full a proof would as effectually destroy our faith as the most insufficient and defective intimation?

So congenial with the human mind is truth, that final conclusions are not even popularly admitted unless they follow justly, or with strong appearances of justice from their premises. Only steal these away from the examination of the intellect, and stamp upon them the authority of axioms, and the very Papist, from the concession of pontifical infallibility, proceeds to reason justly. He has, I grant it, fixed upon a falsehood as the basis of his doctrines, but having conferred establishment upon it, he wisely refers himself hither for the establishment of whatever is attested by it. If the Pope cannot err, and that he says "bread is flesh and blood," the Pope has not erred in the assertion, and therefore it is incontrovertibly certain that bread is flesh and blood; the inference of necessity follows, and wants nothing of absolute certainty but the removal of defect from the premises; but these have been originally conceded, and conse-

consequently all appeal to a higher source of argument is rescinded. Now, with respect to the question at present under enquiry, the scriptures have been allowed; by their attestation all parties agree to be determined, and therefore tho' I were henceforward to admit that from end to end the scriptures of God are but the promulgation of falsehood, yet they have been previously rendered the dernier resort, and "the suffrage of reason may" NOT "be taken," even though on other grounds "she should" be found competent to "decide with mathematical and intuitive certainty that the Athanasian doctrine is not true." Remarks, p. 76. No other premises are before her now than those upon which the point in issue has been already placed, and therefore reason, so long as she retains her integrity and proper character, will refuse to hear any alien testimony, and will give judgment only upon the premises by which the parties had originally agreed to be decided. I grant this appeal to an extrajudicial sort of Reason amounts to a rejection of the scripture evidence relative to the litigated point, but it comes too late to be admitted; it comes subsequent to the deposition of the witness, and from that party whose cause has been subverted by it. The appeal itself therefore argues a concession that the doctrine of Unitarianism is not tenable on the grounds of scripture; and what shall now be said of a cause which relies, for its only maintenance, upon the rejection of that testimony which is borne by the voice of the unerring Truth himself? *

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* With respect to one of the books received into the canon, I shall here state and then animadvert upon the declaration of Mr. Gibbon, who, in note 152 upon the 15th chapter of his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, affirms that "the Alogians disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, because the Church of Thyatira was not yet founded. Epiphanius, who allows the fact, extricates himself from the difficulty by ingeniously supposing that St. John wrote in the spirit of prophecy."

Now,

It is not, however, my intention to call into comparison the different arguments that may be adduced in favour of a religion derived from philosophic premises, and

Now, though I admit that the Alogians disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, I deny that it was because the Church of Thyatira was not yet founded; for consistently with such a reason for rejecting this work, they could hardly have ascribed it to the pen of Cerinthus, who, being the contemporary of St. John, must have preceded the foundation of that Church, at least as long as the Apostle. Their objection, on this ground, was to the truth of the contents of the book, and the veracity of a writer who could absurdly address himself to a body not yet instituted. The objection, I grant, is nonsense, it is nevertheless the true objection of the Alogians.

Such, and such alone, is the difficulty in which Epiphanius is involved: and now let us see how he extricates himself; is it, because he was unable to contradict the assertion, by a general allowance of the fact, such as may warrant us to say, upon his authority, that the Church of Thyatira was not yet founded, and then by an ingenious supposition that St. John therefore wrote in the spirit of prophecy? No, this too I flatly deny.—The fact, as stated by the Alogians themselves, he does allow, but it is only that he may assume it as an argument *ad hominem*, and thence infer to the divine authority and consequent truth of a book which the author must in that case have necessarily written in the spirit of prophecy; for if, says he, the Church of Thyatira were not yet founded, how could St. John have possibly addressed it otherwise than by the means of prophetic inspiration. Thus, from their own position, he derives the refutation of their general inference, which I do not see that he could very conveniently have effected by any other mode of argument than an allowance of the fact; an allowance made, not because he acquiesced in the assertion, or found any difficulty in proving the direct contrary, but for the purpose of fastening upon themselves the very premises from which their own ruin must inevitably proceed. Epiphani Hæres. 51, Sect. 33 tom. i. p. 455, Edit. Coloniae, 1682, fol.

But whence does Mr. Gibbon infer, that the Church of Thyatira was not yet founded. We are told by Justin Martyr, who refers to the 21st chapter, that the Apostle John was the author of the Apocalypse Ἰωάννης; εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶ Χριστῷ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλις ἑτη, &c. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 308. And we have the authority of this book, (against which I believe no fair man of sense will suffer the Alogian puerilities stated here, or any inference drawn from them to stand in competition) as the firm ground of an asseveration, that the Church of Thyatira had been founded when St. John wrote the second chapter of the Apocalypse. See also Acts xvi. 14.

and a religion founded on the scriptures; be it enough to say that the votaries of the former (as not being possessed of any other) have given their voice against the sufficiency of their own grounds of belief, and afforded an *a priori* argument in favour of revelation: For declaring the difficulty attendant upon the acquisition, the absolute impossibility that obstructed the communication of divine knowledge *, some of the wisest among them have pronounced it, upon those conclusions with which they were the best satisfied, but in which they never rested as final, to be an expectation no way derogatory from the God of their apprehensions, that he should make himself known in order to rectify the errors and resolve the doubts of a Being on whom he had bestowed faculties for investigation, and a zeal for the discovery of truth, without having at the same time imparted a light sufficient to conduct his enquiry.

At length, in correspondence with this humble hope, the infinite Luminary has been pleased to shed a ray upon the darkness of mankind, and we accordingly find the consistent disciple of a generous and inquisitive philosophy, whose heart, by cultivation, had, like the sun's orb in Milton, been previously

———— made porous to receive

And drink the liquid light ———

with joy repair to the fountain, and imbibe that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; whilst, on the other hand, we have the misfortune to behold spirits, that we might reasonably have conceived native to the light, chased into extravagant and erring flight by the hallowed splendours of our day-star, when the bird of dawning sings, they start, and
with

* Plato has expressly acknowledged this; “to find the Father and Creator of the universe,” he says, “is a toil, to divulge him an impossibility.”

Τὸν μὲν Πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τὰδε τῷ πατρὶ ἐρεῖν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ εὐρύηλα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.

with the confident apostle, relying only on their own internal strength (would I might add with him also relenting) persist, even while the cock crows, in denying the salvation of God which he hath prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles. The ineffectual fire of that mere glow-worm, *their* luminous reason*, they muffle up, and thus securing its mimic lustre from the touch of heaven's genuine beam, hurry into darkness, hence demonstrably more congenial with their minds, and diligently fortify themselves against the radiance of the Gospel.

But Justin Martyr is our present subject, to him, therefore, let us now return, and so far as the example of a man eminently distinguished by his zeal for truth may persuade to a return from error, let us, without farther preface, state the doctrines for which he relinquished the vague conjectures of an uncertain philosophy.

Besides some tracts of less eminence, this venerable father has left behind him two Apologies for the christians, and a Dialogue with Trypho the Jew. In the former he endeavours to mitigate the severity of Roman persecution carried on against the followers of the Gospel; and to this purpose, touching but incidentally upon their tenets, he lays himself out with particularity to vindicate their morals, and to prove that they were not only inoffensive but virtuous citizens: But in the latter, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter, he enters more fully into the doctrines of christianity.

I shall follow the order in which his writings have been published in the Paris edition, folio, 1636, and therefore shall begin with what is there entituled his First Apology, though in reality it is the second which he

* To "the light of reason," however, when figuratively spoken, I have no more objection than to "the visual ray," by which Mr. Pope has expressed the act or power of seeing.

he presented. The former one, now called the second, was preferred to M. Aurelius Antoninus in the year 162—that which passes as the first was submitted to the senate of Rome in the year of our Lord 164: but to how little effect, the martyrdom of the apologist himself, which was inflicted the same year, bears a melancholy testimony.

To the senate of Rome he declares in behalf of the christians “the word of the unbegotten and unspeakable God, which is with God we adore, and love, because that, for our sake, he was made man, becoming a partaker of our passions that he might effect our cure *.”

To M. Aurelius Antoninus he says, “We are named atheists, and we confess that, with respect to those (dæmons) which are esteemed to be gods, atheists we are; but not with respect to the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance, and every other virtue, who is without alloy of evil; but him; and the Son who has come from him and given this instruction to us, and to the host of good angels that follow him, and are made like unto him; and the prophetick Spirit, we worship and adore, honouring them in word and in truth †.” In perfect conformity with which, he says

* Τόν γάρ ἀπὸ ἀγενήτου καὶ ἀρχῆς Θεῷ λόγον μετὰ τόν Θεόν προσκυνῶμεν, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπος γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμετοχος γενόμενος, καὶ ἰασὶν ποιήσῃται. *Apologia ima*, p. 51.

† Ἐνθένδε καὶ ἄθεοι κεκλημέθα, καὶ ὁμολογῶμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων Θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἔχῃ τῷ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ Πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίχῃ τε κακίας Θεῷ. Ἄλλ’ ἐκείνον τε: καὶ τόν παρ’ αὐτοῦ Υἱόν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς τὰντα, καὶ τόν τῶν ἁλλῶν ἱπομένων καὶ ἱσομοιούμενων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν: Πνεῦμά τε τό προφη-

Τιμὸν

says again in the same Apology, " We worship God alone || : " and farther on he declares that, " having learned, and holding the Son of the most high God to be in the second place, and the prophetick Spirit in the third rank, we will demonstrate to you that we honour them according to the word of God * . "

He testifies that it was " Christ who, under the appearance of fire, spoke with Moses from the bush † ; " and says that the Jews, in thinking it was the Father who spoke from the bush, and not the Son of God, are chargeable with ignorance, both of the Father and the Son, according to Matth. xi. 27. " For they who say that the Son is the Father are convicted of not knowing the Father, and also of not knowing that the universal Father hath a Son, who, being the word, the first begotten of God, is himself God also ‡ . " We may remember that it was he who spoke from the bush to Moses, that declared his name to be I AM THAT I AM, Exodus iii. 14 ; and therefore, without any great violence, may admit that our Lord referred to this former

Ἰκὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνῶμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες.
Apologia zda, p. 56.

|| Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνῶμεν. Ibid. p. 64.

* Ἰὸν ἀντὶ τῆ ὁλως Θεῷ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πνεῦμα τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει, ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν. Apologia zda, p. 60.

† Ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ἐκ βάτους προσωμίλησεν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἡμετέρος Χριστός.
Ibid. p. 95.

‡ Οἱ γὰρ τὸν Ἰὸν Πατέρα φάσκοις εἶναι, ἐλέγχονται μήτε τὸν Πατέρα ἐπισταμένοι, μήτ' ὅτι ἔστιν Ἰὸς τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων γινώσκοντες, ὅς καὶ λόγος πραγματικός ὢν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Θεός ὑπαρχει.
Ibid. p. 96.

former declaration, when he says again, " Before Abraham was I AM," John viii. 15: but he who spoke from the fire farther denominates himself " the Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," Exod. iii. 15. Whether Justin Martyr be right or not in saying that it is Christ who appeared and spoke with Moses from the burning bush, is not the matter in debate, but whether he who was one of the fathers of the second century has said it? and if he has, which from the quotation and reference may appear, it is put beyond all further controversy that Justin Martyr believed Christ to be God.

But in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, though it is impossible for him to be more explicit than in the extracts already made, we find this writer much more copious. He meets his opponent upon the ground of his own scriptures, (the Old Testament) from which he proposes to prove that the omnipotence of God, and the afflictions of a mean man, are foretold of Christ; and thence to infer, that the sufferings of the assumed nature afford no argument against the divinity of our Lord, as the concurrence of both were necessary to a completion of those prophecies, to the truth of which the Jews themselves acceded.

That Christ is God he first undertakes to demonstrate,—and then to shew that the lowliness and sufferings of our Saviour do not preclude Jesus from being the Christ.

Having quoted from Moses and the prophets a vast multitude of passages, (amongst which are Deut. x. 16, 17. Isa. liv. to v. 3.—lxiii.—lxv. 1, 2, 3, &c. &c.) every one of which he declares bears reference to our

Saviour, he censures Trypho for the Jewish misapplication of them, and shews that it is altogether impossible to make them bear the sense which the Jews ascribed to them. You, for instance, he says, apply the 72d Psalm to King Solomon, “while the language of the Psalm itself fully demonstrates that it is referable only to the eternal King, that is, to Christ; for, as I make it appear from all the scriptures, Christ is therein proclaimed a King, and a Priest, and God, and Lord, and an Angel, and a Man, and a Captain of hosts, and a (*corner*) Stone, and an Infant born; first made obnoxious to sufferings, thence ascending up into heaven, and again returning with glory, and possessing an eternal kingdom *.”

The

* Τῶν λόγων τῷ Ψαλμῷ διαρρήδην κηρυσσόντων εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον βασιλεία, τῶν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν, εἰρησθαι· ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς βασιλεὺς, καὶ Ἰερεὺς, καὶ Θεὸς, καὶ Κύριος, καὶ Ἀγγελος, καὶ Ἄνθρωπος. καὶ Ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ Λίθος, καὶ Παιδιὸν γενώμενον, καὶ Παθὴρ γενόμενος πρῶτον, ἦλθ' εἰς ἕρανὸν ἀνερχομένην, καὶ πάλιν παραγινόμενος μετὰ δοξῆς, καὶ αἰώνιον τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων κηρύσσεται, ὡς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἀποδεικνυμι. *Dinlogus cum Tryphone Judeo, p. 251.*

As the proofs of our Saviour's Godhead, being an article of the Christian faith in the Ante-nicene ages of the church, are all that I am concerned in producing, it seems necessary to shew that this was not confounded with other tenets which we do not now embrace in the church of England; and to this purpose I shall here refer to the authority upon which J. Martyr has conferred these titles upon our Lord: that he is a King, he proves by the 2d, 72d, and 99th Psalms; a Priest, from the 110th, and from Zach. vi. 13; a Captain of hosts, from Josh. v. 14, where he says that the man who appeared to, and spoke with Joshua in the character of Captain of the host of the Lord “was God, that is, Christ.” See J. M. p. 284. He proves him a (*corner*) Stone from the 118th Psalm, v. 22, and Isa. xxviii. 16; and an Angel from Exod. iii. 2, in which the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob is called the *Angel of the Lord* who spoke to Moses in the burning bush; and this God he has already called Christ. On this appellation the following passage may also throw some light, and demonstrate the sense in which the

Martyr

The father then recites the whole Psalm in order to shew that it is not applicable to Solomon, but to Christ; for that however magnificent Solomon might have been, kings have never fallen down to worship him.

He then boasts of the constancy of the Christians, and asserts that they preferred torments and death to the guilt of idolatry; on which Trypho takes him up, and declares that he had heard of some who said they professed Christ, and were called Christians, who, nevertheless, eat meats sacrificed to idols: but to this the Martyr replies, that Christ had himself foretold schism and false disciples; that he knew himself there were many who taught Christ, and also the God of Abraham, (*which is added here as a sort of recrimination upon the Jew*) and yet blasphemed the Maker of all things; “that with such we hold no communion, knowing them to be without God, without religion, without righteousness, without law; and who, instead of worshipping Jesus, confess him only in name *.”

Trypho next calls on him to prove that Jesus is the Christ, which he declines doing till he shall first shew from the prophecies “that the Christ is God, and the Lord of hosts †.” To this purpose he recites the

24th

Martyr understood the word Angel when applied to God; for he says himself in his second Apology, “Ἀγγέλῳ δὲ καλεῖσθαι, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γινωσθῆναι, p. 95, which may be thus literally turned, “he is called a *Revealer*, because he *reveals* such things as are necessary to be known.”—Revealer bearing here the same signification as Angel.

* Ὡν ἐδὲν κοινῶμεν, οἱ γνωρίζουσι ἀδελφάς, καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν σέβειν, ὀνόματι μόνον ὁμολογεῖν. P. 253.

† Ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Χριστός. P. 254.

24th Psalm, and says that they are fools † who apply it, not to Christ, but to Solomon: he considers the Psalm as a dialogue, and makes the Princes of heaven, when commanded to open the gates for Christ upon his ascension, to doubt concerning the dignity of one whom they had looked down upon, and seen in earth, without beauty or honour, and so to demand, “who is this King of glory?” “and to them the Holy Ghost makes answer, either from the person of the Father, or from his own person, the Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory, &c. *.”

On

† Ἀνόητοι ἔσιν. p. 254.

* Καὶ ἀποκρίνεται αὐτοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἡ ἀπο πο-
σάων τῷ Πατρὶ, ἡ ἀπο τῷ ἰδιῷ, Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, &c, &c.
P. 255.

This manner of interpreting the 24th Psalm is not peculiar to Justin Martyr; J. FIRMICUS MATERNUS, in the year 342, presented to the Emperours Constantius and Constans a Treatise on the Errours of the Gentile Religions, in which the following remarkable passage occurs. I consign it to a note only, because the author is of the fourth century. His work is, however, not without authority; for he is the earliest writer after the council of Nice; and as he has addressed it, not to Constantinus, but to Constantius, he must stand exempted from the charge of writing under any influence but that of sincere conviction. I shall make no sort of apology for the length of the passage cited. “Ecce terra contremuit, & fundamentorum suorum stabilitate concussâ præsentis CHRISTI NUMEN agnovit. Ante præfinitum tempus præcipitat diem mundi rotata vertigo; & sol, non completo diurnarum horarum spacio, properato cursu vergit in noctem. Ecce veli fastigia summa finduntur, & obscurioribus tenebris orbem terrarum caligo noctis abscondit. Omnia elementa, Christo pugnante, turbata sunt, tunc scilicet, cum primum contra mortis tyrannidem humanum corpus armavit. Per triduum istâ conficatione pugnatum est, quamdiu mors, superatis malitiæ suæ viribus, frangeretur.” Here this author rebukes the impatience of man, who cannot endure our Saviour’s three days absence, and says that David foretold it in the 44th Psalm, which he quotes, and then proceeds to describe his resurrection, calling him by a no less significant name than “CHRIST THE ALMIGHTY GOD.” “Ecce post triduum lucidior solito dies oritur, & reddita soli præteriti luminis gratia. OMNIPOTENS DEUS CHRISTUS splendidioribus solis radiis adoratur. Exultat

SALU-

On this passage I must collaterally remark, that the three persons of the Trinity are accurately distinguished in it. Our Saviour is the subject spoken of as distinct from the Father and the Holy Ghost; and a doubt is suggested, whether the Holy Ghost spoke from his own person, or the person of the Father? which are evidently discriminated by the doubt; for if they be not distinct, why should the doubt be entertained?

“God

SALUTARE NUMEN, et triumphales currus ejus justorum ac sanctorum turba comitatur. Tunc elato gaudio clamat elata mortalitas. *Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?* Tunc præcurrens *SALUTARE NUMEN* aperiri sibi cælestes januas præcipit. Aperite, aperite, & immortalia claustra convellite. *CHRISTUS DEUS*, calcata morte, ad cælum hominem quem susceperat revocat. Hoc a venerando propheta sanctâ voce præcanitur, et ex ore prophetico vox jubentis auditur, ait enim Spiritus sanctus, ut nobis potentiam Christi jubentis ostenderet: *tollite portas, principes, vestras, & extollite portæ æternales, & introibit Rex gloriæ.* Hoc angelis nescientibus imperatur, neque enim scire potuerunt, quando verbum Dei descendit ad terram, ideo & ipsi sollicitâ interrogatione respondent: *Quis est Rex gloriæ?* quibus quærentibus *PERSPICUA CHRISTUS NUMINIS SUI MAJESTATE* respondit: *Dominus fortis & potens, Dominus potens in prælio.* J. Firm. Maternus de *Errore Profanarum Religionum*, p. 48. Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1672. cum Minucii Felicis Octavio.

The same author says that the sin of Adam could only be compensated for by such a propitiation as Christ became for us. “That therefore the word of God united himself with the human body, that he might emancipate mankind and conquer death.” *Verbum Dei humano se miscuit corpori, ut hominem liberaret, ut mortem vinceret.* p. 51. And again he says, “that thus human nature, by man and God in union, should come from the merit of obedience to a reign of immortality.” Et sic humanum genus, per hominem pariter & Deum æquatâ societatis comparatione conjunctum, ad immortalitatis imperium obedientiæ merito perveniret. Ibidem. He closes his work with an admonition to the Emperours: “Let your merciful disposition look ever up to heaven; from God let it ever wait for help; let it implore the adorable Godhead of Christ; and for the world’s, and your own salvation, offer to the God of salvation spiritual sacrifices.” *Clementia vestre cælum semper aspiat, a Deo semper expectet auxilium, Christi venerandum Numen imploret, & pro salute orbis terrarum & vestrâ, salutari Deo spirituales offerat victimas.* p. 64.

“ God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet. Sing praises to God, sing praises: sing praises unto our king, sing praises. For God is the king of all the earth.” “ The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble; he sitteth between the cherubims, let the earth be moved. Moses and Aaron among his priests; they called upon the Lord, and he answered them. He spake unto them in the cloudy pillar. Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool, for he is holy.” These are the words of David in the 47th and 99th Psalms, and Justin Martyr applies them both to Christ, declaring that he is the God spoken of in them *. This application provokes the resentment of Trypho, who says he must decline all farther communication with one who can thus blasphemously endeavour to persuade him that this crucified Man had spoke with Moses and Aaron from the pillar of the cloud; “ that in a subsequent time he was made man, and hanged upon a cross; that he ascended up into heaven, is again to appear on earth, and that he is an object of worship” †. And in another part of the dialogue, in the very same spirit of modern Unitarianism, the Jew declares: “ What you say, that this Christ is God from all eternity, and yet that, being made man, he underwent a human birth, and that he was man without being the Son of a man, appears to me, not only a paradox, but to be actual folly ‡”. As
St.

* "Εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἔτις ἔρηται, ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, &c. P. 256.

† "Εἶλα ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον, σαυρωθῆναι, καὶ ἀναβεβηκέναι εἰς τὸν ἑρᾶνον, καὶ πάλιν παραγίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνῆτον εἶναι. P. 256.

‡ Τὸ γὰρ λέγειν σε, προϋπαρχεῖν Θεὸν ὅληα πρὸ αἰώνων τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν, εἶλα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ

St. Paul had before declared the gospel a stumbling block to the Jews, so to this Jew the Martyr replies: “ I know that this revelation seems a paradox, and particularly to those of your race who have never been disposed to understand the things which are of God, nor to do them, but, as God himself proclaims against you, only those things which are taught by your own Rabbis †.” “ I know that, as the word of God hath spoken, this great wisdom of God, the almighty Creator of the universe, is hid from you ‡”.

Without dwelling on the Martyr's application of the 18th chapter of Genesis to the three Persons in the one Godhead, numerically three, but in mind one *, I shall pass on to his assertion, that the account which wisdom gives of her own generation in the 8th chapter of Proverbs, is properly the language of Christ: and “ the discourse of wisdom shall bear me witness, that he who is God, begotten of the Father of the universe, is the word, and the wisdom, and the power, and the glory of him who begot him §”. St. Paul has, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. i. 24, called “ Christ the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God,” which may well authorize this father's interpretation of wisdom's magnificent claims, which he has ushered in with an assertion that the Son is generated from the Father as one flame is from another; the original blaze com-

καὶ ὅτι ἐκ ἀνδρωποῦ ἐξ ἀνδρώπου, ἢ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μῶρον. P. 267.

† Ibidem.

‡ P. 256.

* Ἀριθμῶ λεγῶ, ἀλλὰ ἢ γνώμη.

§ Μαθηρήσει δὲ μοι ἡ λόγος τῆς σοφίας, αὐτὸς ὢν ἕτερος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπο τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὁλῶν γεννηθεὶς, καὶ λόγος, καὶ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ δόξα τῷ γενήσαντι ὑπάρχων. P. 284.

communicating of its own substance without suffering diminution, even though it has kindled a blaze equal to itself †.

This early writer also confirms St. Barnabas's position, that the Hebrew Plurals bear reference to the persons in the one Godhead; for with him he asserts that the following passages, "Let us make man in our image," Gen. i. 26; and "Adam has become as one of us, Gen. iii. 22, are addressed by the Father to the Son. See p. 15.

He recites the 45th Psalm, and, applying it to our Lord, says "that he is herein testified by the Creator of this world, and that the words of the Psalm eloquently signify that he is the adorable God and Christ ‡;" and now recapitulating the several passages which he had adduced in proof of his position, and adding to them the 19th Psalm, he desires the Jew "to reflect upon the necessity that God should descend from heaven and be made man among men; and that he shall come again; whom they who have pierced him shall look upon and bewail *;" which being an allusion to the declaration of God by the mouth of Zechariah

† Καὶ ὅποῖον ἐστὶ πυρὸς ὁρῶμεν ἀλλὰ γινόμενον, ἔκ ἐλαττωμένου
ἐκείνου ἐξ ἧ ἀναψις γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐτῷ μενούσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἐξ
αὐτοῦ ἀναφθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὅν φαίνεται, ἔκ ἐλαττώσαν ἐκεῖνο ἐξ ἧ
ἀνήφθη. P. 284.

‡ Ὅτι γὰρ καὶ προσκυνητὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Χριστὸς ὑπὸ τῶν
ταῦτα ποιήσαντι μαρτυρούμενοι, καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἔτοι διαξήθησαν ἡ-
μῖνοι. P. 287.

* Ἀναμνήσθητε, ἵνα καὶ Θεὸν ἀνῶθεν προελθόντα, καὶ ἀνθρωποῖς
ἐν ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον γνωρίσητε· καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνον παραγεννησό-
μενον, ὃν ὁρᾶν μέλλετε καὶ κόπῃσθαι ὅτι ἐκκελήσαντες αὐτόν.
P. 289.

Zechariah xii. 10, he makes a transition to those prophecies which predict sorrows, and humiliation, and death, to the same Being whom they likewise announced to be the almighty God: but the impatient Unitarian stops him and says, “ You have taken in hand to demonstrate a fact which is incredible, and almost impossible, that God has submitted to be born, and to be made man † :” to which our author gives an answer that may be very properly addressed to our modern Judaizers: “ If indeed I had undertaken to prove this fact by arguments merely human, and the suggestions of men, I ought not to obtain your assent to it; but if, repeatedly urging the scriptures which speak to this purpose, I require your acknowledgement of what they set forth, I must declare that your hearts are hardened against the knowledge of the mind and the will of God ‡.”

The Jew is notwithstanding reduced at last to make a concession, and admit that the numerous scriptures of the Old Testament, which foretell both the dignity and the humility of our Lord, are referable to the Christ; on which our author expresses his wonder that he should still deny Jesus to be that Christ, only because of his humble state and sufferings, since these things were evidently a part of the Messiah's predicted character; and therefore so far from being a ground of objection to his being the person, that they afforded proof that Jesus was actually the Christ. The teachers among the Jews, he says, “ of necessity acknowledge that these scriptures which I produce, and which explicitly demonstrate that the Christ should suffer, and be the

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God

† Ἀπιστὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον σχηδὸν πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι Θεὸς ὑπέμεινε γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἀνδρῶπι γενέσθαι.

P. 292.

‡ Ibidem.

God of our adoration, are spoken with reference to the Christ; and yet they dare to deny that this Jesus is that Christ, even while they confess that the Christ is to come, and to suffer, and to reign, and to be the God of our worship; which is surely ridiculous and senseless in them, as all these things meet in that Jesus whom they deny, and characterise him according to their own expectations †. “David has proclaimed the Christ to have come forth from the womb according to the council of the Father, and demonstrated him to be God strong, and to be worshipped *”. As such the venerable Martyr declares that he prefers his own supplications to him; and, speaking of our Saviour’s crucifixion, and the promises of God made to those who confide in him, proceeds to assure Trypho that, with charity very different from the persecuting tenets of the Jews, “we pray that you may obtain compassion from Christ; that you may be also made partakers of these promised benefits;” for he taught us to pray even for our enemies §.

Of

† Ἄς δὲ ἂν λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς γραφάς, αἱ διαξέηδην τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ παθῆλον, καὶ προσκυνῆλὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἀποδοεικνύουσι, τάυτας εἰς Χριστὸν μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ἀναγκαζόμενοι συνίδησαι, τῆτον δὲ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τολμῶσι λέγειν. Ἐλεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ παθεῖν, καὶ βασιλεύσαι, καὶ προσκυνῆλον γενέσθαι Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν ὅπως γελοῖον καὶ ἀνοητὸν. P. 294.

* Καὶ Δαβὶδ ἐκ γαστρὸς γεννηθήσεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὴν τῇ Πατρὶ βελὴν ἐκήρυξε, καὶ Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ προσκυνῆλὸν, Χριστὸν ὅληα ἐδήλωσε. P. 302.

§ Καὶ πρὸς τῆτοις πᾶσι εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε ὑπο τῷ Χριστῷ. P. 323. St. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyræans, has delivered the same precept, and desires them to pray for their enemies, if by any means they may come to repentance, which is indeed difficult; “but of this Jesus Christ, who is our true life, has the power.” Τάτε δὲ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν: to whom therefore should they address their supplications but to him who has the power to grant them?

Of the numerous types which Justin interprets of our Lord, I shall present only two to my reader: their justice I am not concerned to vindicate. Be it remembered I am only stating the mind of Justin Martyr. He pronounces Joshua, the successor of Moses, to be a type of our Saviour; and says, that as the one distributed the land of Canaan to the children of Israel, so shall the other distribute a good land to his followers, but that in one particular their gifts differ. "Joshua gave to the children of Israel a temporary inheritance, inasmuch as he was not Christ, who is God, neither the Son of God, but *Jesus Christ* will, after an holy resurrection, give to us an eternal possession †:" and the circumstances of Joshua the priest who returned with Ezra from Babylon, and with Zerubbabel, promoted the building of the second temple, (see Ezra iii. 2, 9; he says are "a type of those things which were afterwards to be done by our Priest, and God, and Christ the Son of the Father of the universe *."

The Martyr quotes then the first chapter of Malachi, in which God refuses to accept the sacrifices of the Jews, but declares that incense shall be offered to his name, *a pure offering*, and that his name shall be great among the Gentiles. That is, says the Jew, it shall be magnified by the Hebrews who are in captivity

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among

† Ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσκαιρὸν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν κληρονομίαν, ἅτε ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὢν, ἔδε Ὑιὸς Θεῶ· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἀνάστασιν, αἰώνιον ἡμῖν τὴν καλῶσχησιν δώσει. P. 340.

* Ἐρχομαι νῦν ἀποδείξαι ἀποκήρυξιν εἶναι Ἰῶν ὑπὸ Ἰῷ ἡμετέρῃ ἱερέως, καὶ θεῶ, καὶ Χριστῷ υἱῷ Ἰῷ πατρὸς Ἰῶν ὁλῶν γίνεσθαι μελλόντων. p. 344. The conformity of our Lord to these two men seems to consist chiefly in the circumstance of name, for they are both called *JESUS* in the septuagint version of the Old Testament.

among the Gentiles, and not by the Gentiles themselves; but this interpretation of the scripture the Christian rejects, and declares that it bears reference to the sacrament of the bread and cup, which was instituted by Jesus Christ; and then proceeds: "I say that the prayers and thanksgivings of such as are worthy, are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices to God: these alone the Christians have learned to make, and these too in commemoration of their nourishment both dry and moist, (*meaning the body and blood of Christ commemorated in the sacramental elements of bread and wine*) in which memory is had of the sufferings which God underwent, through him who is God; whose name the high priests and teachers of your people have diligently laboured to have profaned and blasphemed throughout the whole earth *."

It would be an unnecessary task to pursue this author's train of argument throughout, or to bring to view every proof of our Saviour's Godhead that he produces in opposition to the Jew who denied it. Let it be still remembered that I am not now engaged in bringing evidence of the tenet itself, but in proving that our Lord's divinity was the tenet of the Antenicene fathers. That Justin Martyr held it, I have already produced so copious a testimony, that I shall now finish my extracts from him with his own inference upon a recapitulation of the several scriptures

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* Ὅτι μὲν ἔν καὶ εὐχαι καὶ εὐχαρισται ὑπο τῶν ἀξίων γινόμενοι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ ἑναρεστοὶ ἔισι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτὸς φημὶ· τὰυτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τῷ πάθῃ, ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτῆς ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Θεῷ, μέμνηται, ἃ τὸ ὄνομα βεβηλωθῆναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ βλασφημεῖσθαι οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῷ λαῷ ὑμῶν καὶ διδάσκαλοι ἐργάσασθαι. P. 345.

he had cited: "from which," he says, "I would have you to know that this same crucified Person is explicitly declared to be both God and man, and that his crucifixion and death are revealed in them *." "That he is both the Christ and the adorable God †;" "that the Holy Ghost has called him God ‡; and that, by what has been already laid down, it is abundantly demonstrated that Christ, the Son of God, is Lord and God §."—It may afford some satisfaction to my reader to learn the event of this Dialogue. The Jew did not altogether adopt the sentiments of the Christian, but acknowledged, with some candour, that there was more argument in behalf of his position than he could have conceived, and expresses a strong desire to search the scriptures along with him, assuring himself, from their present discussion, that such an exercise would be attended with great profit.

From the whole, it is now incontrovertibly certain that Justin Martyr was not an Unitarian; and yet Mr. Lindsey has drawn from this author a passage, which he sets before his reader, as an argument that christianity is not necessary to salvation; for that the virtuous predecessors of our incarnate Lord were saved without

* Ἐξ ὧν διαξήδην ἔτ' αὐτὸς ὁ σαυρωθεὶς, ὅτι Θεὸς, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σαυρέμενος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κεκηρυγμένον ἀποδείκνυται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βέλομαι. P. 297.

† Καὶ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς προσκυνητὸς. P. 355.

‡ Ὅτι δὲ καὶ Θεὸν τὸν Χριστὸν καλεῖ (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) ἐν πολλοῖς ἀποδοδεῖκται. P. 354.

§ Καὶ ὅτι Κύριος ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς Θεὸς Ὑιὸς ὑπάρχων ἀποδοδεῖκται ἐν πολλοῖς τῶις ἐξημένοις. P. 357.

out his incarnation and sufferings for their redemption. The translation which Mr. Lindsey gives of this passage, in the 18th page of his Apology, is as follows: "They that have formerly lived (and they that now live) AGREEABLY TO REASON are Christians, and in a secure and quiet state *." Had he proceeded only to the next sentence, he might have added the explanation which the venerable Martyr himself annexes to this assertion; for he there tells us "that it was for this very purpose of their redemption, and that of all men, that our Saviour took flesh, died upon a cross, arose from the dead, and ascended into heaven †."

But, to the understanding of an author, we are not always to take words according to their general acceptance, but in that sense in which the author himself has accepted them. And with regard to the word (λόγος), which Mr. Lindsey has translated *reason*, we find that Justin Martyr has used it, in several passages similar in meaning to that under contemplation, in the sense of the WORD, which was God, according to St. John i. 1, and which was manifested in the flesh as Man also. And as we find it so understood in the very same Apology, in which the passage above occurs, we must conclude that, in this passage also, it means our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to whom, by his assistance from heaven, they who are in a secure and quiet state lived; and not as Mr. Lindsey
turns

* 'Οι δὲ ΜΕΤΑ' ΛΟΓΟΥ βιωσαντες, καὶ βιῶντες, Χριστιανοί, καὶ ἀφοβοί, καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι. Apol. i. p. 83.

† Δι' ἣν δὲ αἰτίαν διὰ παρθένης ἀνδρώπῃς ἀπεικινήθη, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἐπωνομάθη, καὶ σαυρωθεὶς ἀποθανῶν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἀνελήλυθεν εἰς ἔρανόν. Ibid.

turns it, “agreeably to reason,” importing an exclusion of our Lord’s divine help. I repeatedly urge it, that I am not concerned to maintain any of the tenets of the fathers, but to prove that their tenets were averſe from thoſe of the Unitarians; to which end it is but juſt to explain their aſſertions in one place by ſuch as they have themſelves made in others. To the preſent purpoſe, therefore, let me now ſhow that Socrates is ſaid, by Juſtin Martyr, to have ſtood up againſt idolatry and dæmon worſhip by the true WORD *; and it is then immediately declared of him that “theſe things were not reproved BY THE WORD, thro’ Socrates, in the Greeks alone, but alſo among the Barbarians, BY THE WORD HIMSELF taking the form, and becoming Man, and being called Jeſus Chriſt †,” in whom, he proceeds, we alſo believing, reprove theſe things. Whether Socrates, and other wiſe and virtuous men, by divine inſpiration and aſſiſtance, believed in Chriſt, is another queſtion; but that Juſtin Martyr believed they did, and, therefore, that, according to this belief, he is to be interpreted as having ſaid that they are in a ſecure and quiet ſtate, who have lived (not *agreeably to reaſon*, as Mr. Lindſey tranſlates it, but) *agreeably to the dictate of the Word, which was God*, is put out of all doubt; and, by conſequence, the authority of this venerable man taken away from Mr. Lindſey, and proved to ſtand even in full oppoſition to the very doctrine which he was called in to ſupport. Suppoſe it, however, true of the worthy predeceſſours of our Saviour in the fleſh, that, according to Mr. Lindſey’s

* "Αληθεῖ λόγῳ.

† 'Ου γὰρ μόνον Ἕλλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ λόγῳ ἡλέγχθη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ "ΑΤΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ μαρμαρῶνι, καὶ ἀνθρώπων γενομένῃ, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κληθέντι.—
Apol. i. p. 56.

Lindsey's translation, they are happy now in consequence of having lived (*"agreeably to reason"*); to what can the doctrine lead? Can any among us become predeceffours to our Lord? or does it argue to apostacy? Can it be inferred that, because the discharge of a duty is not required of those on whom it was never imposed, the neglect or desertion of that duty is justifiable in those who have been called upon to discharge it? I hope there is no man so utterly lost to virtue as to maintain the assertion.

There is yet another passage, of which Mr. Lindsey's erroneous translation makes it necessary for me to take some notice; but in this I shall be very brief, as I have it in my power to refer my reader to the writings of two very learned men, whose fellow-labourer in the cause of true christianity I am happy in considering myself. I mean the Reverend Mr. Bingham, who has published "*A Vindication of the Doctrine and Liturgy of the Church of England,*" and the Reverend Dr. Randolph, who has likewise very ably exerted himself in "*A Vindication of the Worship of the Son and Holy Ghost;*" both of which excellent works are written in confutation of Mr. Lindsey's tenets.

The passage referred to is taken from the 267th page of Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, and quoted by Mr. Lindsey in the 160th page of his Apology. In his translation of it, the apologist has converted an address to the persons present into a declaration that there were many Christians, with whom our author lived in amity, who denied the divinity of our Lord. "*O my friends,*" says the Martyr, "there are some of our generation who confess that he is the Christ, who yet maintain that he is a man, born of human parentage, with whom I by no means agree."

agree *.” But the apologist (I sincerely hope, through error only) has put into the place of this assertion one altogether foreign from the meaning of the original; for he makes his author declare, “*there are some friends of mine amongst us* (CHRISTIANS) who profess him to be the Christ, but affirm him to be a Man born of men, with whom, however, I do not agree.” The original Greek at the bottom of this page, will demonstrate the injustice of this version, and make it sufficiently clear that the application of *Christians* is a meer interpolation. This passage immediately follows that already quoted in the 87th page, in which God himself proclaims the obstinacy of the unbelieving Jews; and the very declaration, that the sentiments of such persons differ from his own in a point so essential, might help to evince the absurdity of be-

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flowing

* Ἡδὲ μὲν ται, ὧ Τρύφων, ἔειπον, ἐκ ἀπόλλυται τὸ τοιῦτον εἶναι Χριστὸν τῷ Θεῷ, εἰὰν ἀποδείξαι μὴ δύναμαι ὅτι καὶ προὔπηρχεν Ὑἱὸς τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπου διὰ τῆς παρθένης: ἀλλὰ, ἐκ πάντων ἀποδεικνυμένη ὅτι ἔστι ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅστις ἔστι ἔστι, εἰὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδείκνυται ὅτι προὔπηρχε καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀνθρώπου ὁμοιοπαθῆς ἡμῖν, Σάρκα ἔχων, κατὰ τὴν τῷ Πατρὶ βούλην, ὑπέμεινεν, ἐν τῷ πεπλανῆσθαι με μόνον λέγειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι ἔστι ἔστι ὁ Χριστὸς, εἰὰν φαινῆται ὡς ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθεὶς, καὶ ἐκλογὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἀποδεικνύεται. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ Εἰσιτινέες, Ὡ Φίλοι, ἔλεγον, ἀπο τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει ὁμολογῆτες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐκ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι: οἷς ἐβουλόμην, εἰδὲ ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτα μοι δοξάσαντες εἰποῖεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ ἀνθρωπείοις διδάγμασι κεκελεύσμεθα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν Χριστῶν πέθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κερυχθεῖσι, καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν διδασκασθεῖσι. P. 267.

I have here transcribed the entire passage from Justin Martyr, the more easily to demonstrate Mr. Lindsey’s defective version of a part of it; for his translation is as little agreeable to the context as the particular language of the original. For a further discussion of this passage, see Mr. Bingham’s Vind. Doct. and Lit. p. 23, and Dr. Randolph’s Vind. of the Worship of the Son and Holy Ghost, p. 133.

flowing such a title upon them. But how shall he boast of a friendship with men, whose principles and communion he has already so emphatically disavowed? Shall he now be supposed to denominate those his friends whom he has already pronounced to be "without God, without religion, without righteousness, without law, and who, instead of worshipping Jesus, confess him only in name?" Not such was this Martyr's confession of Jesus; he had a God, a religion, and a law, and he accordingly preferred his adoration to his Saviour and Redeemer, whose Godhead he has so explicitly asserted throughout his entire controversy with the Jew, that it is an indisputable fact that Justin Martyr was not an Unitarian.

TATIAN was the cotemporary and disciple of Justin Martyr. The immoderate austerity of his life and doctrine incurred the censure of the church, from which, however, he did not essentially differ in mere matters of faith.

He has written an oration against the Greeks, the end of which is to curb the pride of superiority to what they called Barbarians. Some of the tenets of christianity, however foreign from his subject, he has nevertheless found an occasion of professing.

St. Paul, urging a future judgement as an argument for a good life, tells the Corinthians that "we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ; and that, knowing therefore the terrour of the Lord, he would persuade men." 2 Cor. v. 10, 11. If, therefore, there be any justice in the following assertion of Tatian's, Jesus Christ is one with the Father, God. "Man may be respected as man, but God alone is to
be

be feared *.” But this early Christian has borne a more direct testimony to his own faith, which must put it out of controversy that he was not an Unitarian; for, in the name of all the Christians, he says, “We speak not foolishly, ô Greeks, nor do we utter trifles when we declare to you that God was born in the form of a man †”.

IRENÆUS, by birth a Greek, and the disciple of Polycarp, was appointed bishop of Lyons in the year 179, upon the martyrdom of his predecessor Pothinus. He was himself called upon to bear a similar testimony to the sincerity of his faith; for, about the year 202, he was beheaded at Lyons, under an order from the Emperour Severus.

There is only one of his numerous volumes extant. It is “A Refutation of Heresies,” in five books. He probably wrote it in Greek; but the original, excepting part of the first book, is lost. The remainder of the work is preserved by a Latin version, which is very antient, but so exceedingly barbarous, that it requires the utmost attention to develop the author’s meaning. This, in all human probability, has been transmitted to us very faithfully; and, possessing this, we may easily dispense with those graces of style and language which the translator of Dr. Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History conceives to have reigned through the original.

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* The Greek of St. Paul for the terror of the Lord is, φόβον κύριῳ of Tatian’s assertion, τὸν μὲν γὰρ, ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρωπίνως τιμητέον: φοβητέον δὲ μόνον τὸν Θεόν. P. 144. Edit. Paris. Fol. 1636, cum Just. Mart. Oper.

* Οὐ γὰρ μαράνομεν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἑδὲ λῆρες ἀπαγγέλλομεν, Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μορφῇ γεγονέναι καὶ ἀγγέλλοις. P. 155.

I more lament that perspicuity which probably was possessed by the original, but has altogether vanished in the translation.

Besides the barbarity of his style, this author is encumbered with another difficulty, the barbarity of his subject; for the heresies which he undertakes to refute, are some of them of so fantastic, and even so monstrous a nature, that they rather seem to have been the dreams of madmen, than the suggestions of a serious understanding. They so evidently carried the seeds of their own decay within them, that Irenæus appears to have undertaken an unnecessary and superfluous work in attacking them. So far as I can accomplish it, I will keep these heresies out of my reader's view. This "God-denying heresy," as Eusebius calls the tenet of Paul of Samosata and Artemon, which is now again revived, is all that I am engaged to controvert; and such declarations of his own faith as this venerable father has delivered to the world on this head, I shall produce in proof that Irenæus was not an Unitarian. It is not, however, possible to exclude these heretics altogether. Among others, which are better forgotten, they held tenets similar to those now embraced; and so far as our author's refutation affects these only, I am obliged to bring them forward.

Like our modern Unitarians, they divided from God "the Word, which was God;" but not being able to combat the apostolical testimony of the Godhead of the Word, they had recourse to a similar solution with a certain polytheistical writer, who contends that there is a supreme God, and another God. To this purpose they devised a strange genealogy for the Word, which they separated from God; thus, rather than admit a personal distinction, dividing the Godhead itself.

But

But our venerable author, condescending to their absurdity, and answering the fool according to his folly, argues from the illimitable extent of God, that no effluence can go forth from him that can be divided from him; and thence concludes, that, as he is all mind uncompounded, in all parts alike, whole and equal, all thought, all mind, the Word being an expression of the mind, is inseparable from the indivisible mind, and that, in the utterance, it cannot go out of that circumference which the boundless God forms around it; and, therefore, that being the same with the mind, which is God, the Word itself is God, and that it is ever one with the Father, from whom it is inseparable. “ But if they say that intellect is thus divided from intellect, they cut into parts, and parcel out the intellect of God. But whither, and whence is it sent forth? Whatever is sent forth, is cast upon some recipient beyond the projectile; but what is there beyond the intellect of God, upon which, according to them, it should be cast forth from him? What space is there to receive and comprehend the mind of God? But if, to use their own example of a ray from the sun, they would shew that, in like manner as the air is more antient than the ray, and of capacity to receive it when projected, there subsists any subject, upon which the intellect of God shall be cast forth, capable of containing it, and of greater antiquity, it will become necessary for them (*to pursue the illustration*) to say, that as the sun, which we see to be limited, sheds his rays to a distance from himself, so the progenitor sheds a ray out of, and far beyond himself: but what is there out of, what is there beyond God, into which he shall beam a radiance that shall be distinct from himself? But if then they admit that the mind of God is not projected beyond the Father, but still continues within him, then the Word, which (*ac-*
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cording to the Gnostics whom he contends with) is the effluence again from this emitted mind, is circumscribed within the Father, and being in the bowels of the Father, is exempt from sufferings *." This writer farther combats these extraordinary tenets, saying, "God is all mind, God is all Word, what he thinks, that he speaks, and what he speaks, that he thinks; for thought is his word, and the Word is mind, and Mind is the Father himself, who comprehends all things. He, therefore, who speaks of the mind of God, and ascribes to mind a proper distinct procedure or generation, pronounces God a compound, as if there was one thing God, and another thing the principal mind. In like manner, ascribing to the Word a third descent from the Father, his ignorance of the greatness of God appears, inasmuch as that he separates the Word from God, tho' the prophet has said, "Who shall declare his generation? Isa. liii. 8. "If any shall, therefore, say to us, how then is the Son generated of the Father? we answer him that, whether he will call it procedure, or generation, or expression, or utterance, or disclosure,

* Si autem de sensû sensum dicant emissum, præcidunt sensum Dei et partiuntur. Quo autem & unde emissus est? quod enim ab aliquo emititur in aliquod subjectum emittitur. Quid autem subjacebat quàm sensus Dei, in quò emissum dicunt eum? quantus autem & erat locus ut susceperet & caperet Dei sensum? Si autem quemamodum a sole radium dicunt, sicut subjacet aër hic susceptor, & antiquior erit quam ipse radius, & illic ostendant subjacens aliquid in quò emissus est sensus Dei, capabile ejus & antiquius: post oportebit, quemamodum solem minorem esse, quem omnia videmus longè a semetipso emittentem radios, sic & propatorem dicere extrà longè & a semetipso emisisse radium; quidnam autem extrà aut longè sentiri a Deo potest in quod radium emisit? Si autem non emissum extra Patrem illum dicent, sed in ipso Patre, is qui ab eo Logos erit intrà Patrem, & impassibiles (*aliæ scilicet præter Logon, emissiones Logi, de quibus hic differere prorsûs abs ré*) omnes similiter perseverabunt, cum sint in paternis visceribus.—Irenæi adversus Heræses, lib. ii. cap xvii. p. 114. Edit. Gallasi, Genève, 1570, folio.

sure, or by any other denomination, no man, neither the angels, nor the archangels, nor the principalities, nor the powers, nor any other knows his unspeakable generation besides the Father alone, who begot him, and the Son who was born †." The necessity under which Irenæus lay of using the language of the Heretics, with whom he contended, occasions an obscurity in these passages, which, however, does not affect the question in debate; for, notwithstanding their obscurity, they still sufficiently prove the only truth that I here contend for, namely, that Irenæus believed in the divinity of Christ; for here we see the inexplicable generation, and yet the inseparable unity of the Son with the Father as God, asserted by him in the most explicit manner; and we are farther warned not to argue from human imbecility to a restraint on Omnipotence, nor judge of an infinite and incomprehensible God by analogies which cannot subsist.

Apposite to this last assertion, having declared that he alone is God "who, by himself, that is, by his word and his wisdom, created the heaven and earth," this writer farther says, that "they know him to whom the

† Deus autem totus existens Mens, & totus existens Logos, quod cogitat hoc et loquitur, et quod loquitur hoc et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus Logos, et Logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse est Pater. Qui ergo dicit mentem Dei, et prolationem propriam menti donat, compositum eum pronunciat, tanquam aliud quiddam sit Deus, aliud autem principalis mens existens. Similiter autem rursus et de Logo, tertiam prolationem ei à Patre donans, unde et ignorat magnitudinem ejus: porro et longè Logon à Deo sepeparavit, et propheta quidem ait de eo, *generationem ejus quis enarravit?* Si quis itaque nobis dixerit, quomodo ergo Filius prolatus à Patre est? dicimus ei, quia prolationem istam, sive generationem, sive nuncupationem, sive adapertionem, aut quomodolibet quis nomine vocaverit, generationem ejus inenarrabilem existentem nemo novit, neque angeli, neque archangeli, neque principes, neque potestates, nisi solus qui generavit Pater et qui natus est Filius. Lib. ii. cap. xlviii. p. 149.

the Son has revealed him, the Son eternally cœxistent with the Father *;" and he thus asserts the union of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ, "who, from his most exalted love to his creature, submitted to be born as a man of a virgin, thus in himself uniting man and God, and suffering under Pontius Pilate, and arising from the dead, and being openly received up into glory, will come again the Saviour of all who are saved, and Judge of all who are judged †" Here Jesus Christ is pronounced the Creator, as it is for the love he bore to his own work that he is said to have taken manhood upon him; and, consonant with this declaration, the same author says that "the Word of God is the Father of mankind *." To him, therefore, as one with the Father, such as concur in believing this article of Irenæus's faith must naturally prefer the Lord's prayer; "for, when we say, our Father which art in heaven, in calling him Father we name him our God; for this appellation acknowledges both his goodness and power; and in the Father the Son also is invoked; for he says himself, "I and the Father are one †."

In another part of his work, Irenæus tells us that "Simon Magus was by many glorified as God; that he

* "Qui fecit per semetipsum, hoc est, per Verbum et per Sapientiam suam cælum et terram." "Cognoscunt enim eum hi quibus revelaverit Filius, semper autem coexistens Filius Patri." Lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 157.

† Qui, propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum delectionem, eam quæ esset ex virgine, generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens, et in claritate receptus in gloria, venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et Judex eorum qui judicantur. Lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 172.

* Pater autem generis humani Verbum Dei est. Lib. iv. cap. li. p. 287.

† Dicendo autem Patrem, Deum cognominamus; appellatio ista et pietatis et potestatis est. Item in Patre Filius invocatur; Ego enim inquit et Pater unum sumus.—Tertulliani Lib. de Oratione, cap. ii.

he taught them that he was the same who appeared among the Jews as the Son; but, in Samaria, descended as the Father, and came also into other nations as the Holy Ghost; but that he was the most sublime virtue, that is he who is Father over all †." We see here the three Persons enumerated, and it is of no importance to object that it is by Simon they are named. He allows Jesus Christ to have been God the Son; the Holy Ghost, whom he had learned at his own baptism when he believed, (see Acts viii. 10. &c.) he declares to be God, who visited the Gentiles; and in this he is strictly right, for it is by his assistance sent to the apostles that Christ was witnessed to the Gentiles, and that we now believe; the Person of the Father he reserves to himself, calling his own Samaritan nativity the descent of the Father into Samaria. To each of these three Persons he unquestionably ascribes the name and dignity of God; so that, even in the apostolic days, we here find an acknowledgement that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God: an acknowledgement too on which I place much reliance; for, upon the doctrines disseminated by the apostles, and which were now very generally received, he grounded his own extravagant blasphemy; he assumed to himself the Godhead, which was admitted; and though he has come under the scourge of Irenæus for most blasphemously arrogating to himself the *great power of God*, yet does this very assumption, horrible as it is, bear an important testimony that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were at that time generally believed to be, God.

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Justin

† Hic igitur (Sc. Simon Magus) a multis quasi Deus glorificatus est, et docuit semetipsum esse qui inter Judæos quidem quasi Filius adparuerit, in Samariâ autem quasi Pater descenderit, et in reliquis vero gentibus quasi Spiritus Sanctus adventaverit. Esse autem se sublimissimam virtutem, hoc est, cum qui sit super omnia Peter. Irenæi, lib. i. cap. xx. p. 75.

Justin Martyr has, in his Dialogue with Trypho, asked the Jews, “ Think ye that any other is held forth in the scriptures as the object of worship, and Lord and God, besides the Creator of the universe and Christ, who is by so many scriptures revealed to you to have been made man † ?” And to this question, the following assertion of Irenæus affords a full and satisfactory answer: “ Neither the Lord, nor the Holy Ghost, nor the apostles would have definitively and absolutely denominated him God, who was not God, nor given this name to any, unless he were the true God; neither, from their own persons, would they have called any Lord but God, who beareth dominion over all things, the Father, and the Son who hath received the dominion from the Father. As the scripture says, “ The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool,” Psa. cx. 1, which shews the Father, who gave him the heathen for an inheritance, and put all his enemies under him, here speaking to the Son. Seeing then that the Father is truly Lord, and that the Son is truly Lord, the Holy Ghost has properly signified them by the appellation of Lord.” “ But the scripture also saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom; thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee. Psa. xlv. 6, 7. The Holy Ghost has here signified both by the appellation of God, him who is anointed, the

† Μη τι ἄλλον τινὰ προσκυνήδον, καὶ κύριον, καὶ Θεὸν λεγόμενον ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς νοεῖτε εἶναι, πλὴν τῷ τῷτο ποιήσαντι τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ, ὃς διὰ τῶν τοσούτων γραφῶν ἀπεδείχθη ὑμῖν ἀνδρώμενος. *Dialogus cum Tryphone* Judæo, p. 295.

the Son, and him who anointeth him, the Father *." He quotes many other passages of holy writ to the same purpose, and then declares that, "when scripture names any gods which are not Gods, it does not do so without qualification, but with some addition or interpretation, by which they are shewn not to be Gods †." As examples, he cites Exod. vii. 1. Psalm xcvi. 5. Isaiah xlii. 17.—xliv. 9, and, among many other texts, 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6; "for tho' there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, (*in illo*) and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." And upon this passage the father makes the following short comment, that "St. Paul has separated or distinguished those who are called gods, but are not such, from the one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and in his own person has most firmly confessed the one Lord Jesus Christ ‡." And, in the

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words

* Neque igitur Dominus, neque Spiritus Sanctus, neque apostoli eum qui non esset Deus definitivè et absolutè Deum nominassent aliquando nisi esset verus Deus, neque Dominum apellassent aliquem ex suâ personâ nisi qui dominatur omnium Deum, Patrem, et Filium ejus qui dominium accepit a Patre suo omnis conditionis: quemamodum habet illud "dixit Dominus Domino meo, &c." Psa. cx. 1. Matth. xxii. 44. Patrem enim cum Filio colloquutum ostendit qui et dedit ei hæreditatem gentium, et subjecit ei omnes inimicos. Verè, igitur, cum Pater sit Dominus, et Filius verè sit Dominus, meritò Spiritus Sanctus Domini appellatione significavit eos." "Similiter habet illud "sedes tua, Deus, in eternum, &c." Psa. xlv. 6, 7. Heb. i. 8. Utrosque enim Dei appellatione significavit Spiritus, et eum qui ungitur, Filium, et eum qui ungit, id est Patrem. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 174.

† Cum autem eos qui non sunt, deos nominat, non in totum scriptura ostendit illos Deos, sed cum aliquo additamento et significatione, per quam ostenduntur non esse Dii. Ibidem.

‡ Seperavit eos qui dicuntur quidem, non sunt autem dii, ab uno Deo Patre ex quo omnia, et unum Dominum Jesum Christum ex suâ personâ firmissime confessus est. P. 176.

words of ORIGEN, let me proceed to say that " I wonder how any who read what the apostle Paul has said " that there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, " should yet deny that they ought to confess the Son of God to be God, lest they should seem to acknowledge two Gods. How will they dispose of this passage of the apostle, in which Christ is openly declared to be God over all? Rom. ix. 5. (*See also p. 26, above*). But they who hold these opinions do not consider, that as he has not termed the Lord Jesus Christ the one Lord in such exclusive manner, that God the Father shall hence be pronounced not Lord; so also he has not denominated God the Father God in such exclusive manner as that the Son shall not hence be believed to be God; for that scripture is true which says, " Be ye sure that the Lord he is God," Psa. c. 3; for they are both one God, because there is no other commencement of the Son's Godhead than the Father; but of that paternal fountain (as wisdom saith) the Son is the purest emanation. Christ is therefore God over all. What all? doubtless over principalities, and powers, and virtues, and over every name that is named, not only in this, but in every future age. But he who is above all, has no superior above him; for he is not beneath, or after the Father, but of the Father. But, concerning the Holy Ghost also, the wisdom of God has given us information, when he says, " For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice." (*Wisdom of Solomon, chap. i. 7*). If therefore the Son of God be declared over all; if the Holy Ghost be said to contain all things; and if the Father be God, of whom are all things, the nature and one substance of a Trinity, which

which is over all, is clearly demonstrated *.” I have the more willingly digressed into a comment on this passage in St. Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians, because that a moiety of the first part of the 6th verse has been produced in evidence of the Father’s exclusive God-head, and even made the motto of a work levelled at the divinity of our Redeemer. It is true that such an argument is a just epitome of that system which is pursued to this blasphemous end: half sentences are torn away from their context, and their weight then turned against the very purposes for which they were dictated by the Spirit. I think myself fortunate in being able to bring this sensible remark of an antient Christian into direct opposition to the stratagems of a modern apostate, on whom I call to withdraw the denomination under which he publishes, and no longer to boast himself “a Member of the church of Christ,”
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* Et miror quomodo quidam, legentes quod idem apostolus in aliis dicit unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia, negent Filium Dei Deum debere profiteri, ne duos Deos dicere videantur. Et quid de hoc loco apostoli facient, in quo aperte Christus super omnia Deus esse perscribitur? Rom. ix. 5. Sed non advertunt, qui hæc ita sentiunt, quod sicut Dominum Jesum Christum non ita unum esse Dominum dixit, ut ex hoc Deus Pater non Dominus dicatur, ita et Deum Patrem non dixit ita esse unum Deum, ut Deus Filius non credatur. Vera est enim scriptura quæ dicit “scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus.” Psa. c. 3. Unus enim uterque Deus, quia non est aliud Filii divinitatis initium quam Pater, sed ipsius paterni fontis (sicut sapientia dicit) purissima est emanatio Filius. Est ergo Christus super omnia Deus. Quæ omnia? sine dubio super principatus, et potestates, et virtutes, et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc sæculo sed etiam in futuro. Qui autem super omnes est super se neminem habet. Non enim post Patrem ipse, sed de Patre.—Hoc autem (id est sapientia Dei) etiam de Sancto Spiritu intelligi dedit ubi dicit, “Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum et qui continet omnes scientiam habet vocis.” Si ergo Filius Dei super omnes dicitur; et Spiritus Sanctus continere omnia memoratur; Deus autem Pater est ex quo omnia; evidenter ostenditur natura Trinitatis et substantia una quæ est super omnia. Origenis Opera, tom ii. p. 376. In Epistolam ad Romanos, lib. vii. cap. ix.

in contiguity with a passage half-quoted, for the purpose of denying and excluding the Head and Institutor of "that church which God, that is the Son himself, through himself, has assembled together."

Irenæus, still pursuing the same argument, that none are called gods who are not Gods, without some terms of exception, says, "that none of the sons of Adam is called god, without some qualifying term, as the Lord is called, we have demonstrated from the scriptures; and to all, who have attained to but a moiety of the truth, it is obvious, that he alone of all mankind is denominated God, and Lord, and the eternal King, and the Only-begotten, and the incarnate Word, both by the prophets, and apostles, and the Holy Ghost himself. And these things the scriptures would not have testified of him, had he been but a Man as all other men are; but the holy scriptures testify both these things of him, that, different from all other men, he alone had in himself a glorious generation from the most high Father, and that he also accomplished a glorious birth of a virgin; that he was a Man without beauty, obnoxious to sufferings, riding on an ass's colt, drinking vinegar and gall, despised of the people, and bowing down even to the death; that he was the Lord holy, the wonderful Counsellor, beautiful in form, God mighty, coming in the clouds, the Judge of all men. All these things have the scriptures prophesied concerning him. For as he was man that he might undergo temptations, so was he the Word that he might receive glory; the Word acquiescing that he might be liable to temptation, and dishonour, and crucifixion, and death; but the Man being taken into the Word because of his victory, his suffering, his resurrection and
assump-

* Hi autem sunt ecclesia; hæc enim est synagoga Dei, quam Deus, hoc est Filius ipse, per semet ipsum collegit. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 175.

assumption *.” “But St. John,” says our venerable author, “has cut off all controversy from us by saying, “He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not.” Yet, according to Marcion, and such as are like to him, the world was not made by him, neither did he come to his own, but to another’s †.” But “there is one Word of God, by which are all things, by whom all things were made; for the Word of God is truly the Maker of the world; and he is our Lord who, in the latter times, was made Man ‡.” And therefore Christ himself,

* Quoniam enim nemo in totum ex filiis Adæ deus appellatur, secundum ut Dominus nominatur, ex scripturis demonstravimus; quoniam ipse propriè præter omnes qui fuerunt tunc homines, Deus, et Dominus, et Rex æternus, et Unigenitus, et Verbum incarnatum prædicatum, et a prophetis, et apostolis, et ab ipso Spiritu, adest videre omnibus qui vel modicum de veritate attigerint. Hæc autem non testificarentur scripturæ de eò, si similiter ut omnes homines homo tantum fuisset. Sed quoniam præclaram, præter omnes, habuit in se eam quæ est ab altissimo Patre genituram, præclarâ autem sanctus est et eâ quæ est ex virgine generatione, utraque scripturæ divinæ de eo testificantur, et quoniam Homo indecorus, et passibilis, et super pullum asinæ ascendens, aceto et felle potatur, et spernebatur in populo, et usque ad mortem descendit; et quoniam Dominus sanctus, et mirabilis Consiliarius, et decorus specie, et Deus fortis, super nubes veniens universorum Judex. Omnia de eo scripturæ prophetabant. Sicut enim Homo erat ut tentaretur, sic et Verbum ut glorificaretur; quiescente quidem Verbo, ut posset tentari, et inhonorari, et crucifigi, et mori; absorpto autem Homine, in eo quod vincit, et sustinet, et resurgit, et assumitur. Lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 212.

† Abstulit autem a nobis dissensiones omnes ipse Joannes, dicens, “In hoc mundo erat, et mundus per eum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In sua propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt.” Secundum autem Marcionem, et eos qui similes sunt ei, neque mundus per eum factus est, neque in sua venit sed in aliena. Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 184.

‡ Unum Verbum Dei per quod omnia, per quem omnia facta sunt. Mundi enim Factor verè Verbum Dei est. Hic autem est Dominus noster, qui in novissimis temporibus Homo factus est. Lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 340.

self, with the Father, is the God of the living, who spoke with Moses, and was made manifest to the fathers *.” And now “do thou, O God, who, thro’ the multitude of thy mercy, hast dealt graciously by us, that we should know thee who hast made the heaven and earth, and rulest over all; who, with our Lord Jesus Christ, rulest in the power of the Holy Ghost, and art the only true God, besides whom there is no God; grant to every one that readeth this scripture to know thee, that thou art the only God, and to be confirmed in thee, and to turn away from every heretical, godless, and impious tenet †.”

St. Ignatius, as I have already stated, p. 21, says “that our Saviour truly raised up himself from the dead;” and with him Irenæus agrees; for he asserts that, “being invisible, he took manhood upon himself and became visible; being incomprehensible, he became comprehensible; that, being exempt from sufferings, he became obnoxious to them; and that, being

* Ipse igitur Christus, cum Patre, vivorum est Deus, qui et locutus est Mœysi, qui et patribus manifestus est. Lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 239.

† Deus, qui per multitudinem miserecordiæ tuæ, & bene sensisti in nobis, ut te cognoscamus qui fecisti cælum, & terram, & dominaris omnium, qui es solus & verus Deus, super quem alius Deus non est, præter Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, dominatione quoque dominaris Spiritûs Sancti, da omni legenti hanc scripturam cognoscere te quia solus Deus es, & confirmari in te, & abstinere ab omni hæreticâ, & quæ est sine Deo, & impiâ sententiâ. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 176.

If any person object to the translation of this prayer as not being literal, let him just consider that a version made exactly according to the letter would place the Son above the Father, which, I am confident, was not the intention of the author, though his miserable translator has substituted it for him. The words of the Latin version will bear the sense I have ascribed to them; and as this is consistent with the general doctrine of his book, I have not the smallest doubt that it is the true one.

ing the Word, he became Man †;” “that he suffered in our stead, and arose for our sake §.” “And to this purpose our Lord, in these latter times, came to us, not so as he might have come, but so as we might be able to behold him; for he might have come to us in his own unspeakable glory, but we should be unable to endure the majesty of his glory *.” “for he is the Word of God, the Only-begotten of the Father, Jesus Christ our God †.”

That Irenæus considered, and, from habit, felt the words God, Lord, and Christ to be perfectly synonymous, the two following quotations will evince; and from the first of them we may also deduce this certain conclusion, that our Lord was the object of a Christian's worship in the second century.

St. Paul, warning the Thessalonians of future defection, to take place when the Man of sin shall be revealed, describes this Son of perdition as “sitting in the temple of God, shewing himself that HE IS GOD.”

2 Thess.

† Hominem ergo in semetipso recapitulatus est invisibilis, & visibilis factus, & incomprehensibilis, factus comprehensibilis, & impassibilis, passibilis, & Verbum Homo. Lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 205.

§ Ipse est Jesus Christus Dominus noster qui passus est pro nobis, & surrexit propter nos. Ibidem, p. 204.

* Et propter hoc Dominus noster, in novissimis temporibus venit ad nos, non quomodo ipse poterat, sed quomodo illum nos videre poteramus. Ipse enim in sua inenarrabili gloria ad nos venire poterat, sed nos magnitudinem gloriæ suæ portare non poteramus. Lib. iv. cap. lxxiv. p. 309.

Compare this with the assertion of St. BARNABAS, (page 15 above); refer it also to what has been said on *Philippians* ii. 6, 7, 8, in the 9th page, under the head of CLEMENS ROMANUS.

† Ipse enim Verbum Dei, ipse Unigenitus a Patre, Christus Jesus Deus noster. Lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 206.

2 Theff. ii. 4. ; but Irenæus, referring to this passage, describes the Son of perdition as “sitting in the temple of God, that they who are seduced by him may ADORE HIM AS CHRIST*.”

“CHRIST died for our sins,” says St. Paul ; and, without changing the antecedent, goes on to say that “*he* rose again the third day ; that *he* was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that of five hundred brethren at once, and, last of all, *he* was seen of me also.” 1 Cor. xv. 3, &c. Here the Persons who had seen CHRIST after his resurrection are enumerated by St. Paul, for the purpose of proving their testimony equally competent with his own. But Irenæus, for the same purpose, produces this passage, and thus proceeds, “that Paul, in his epistle to the Corinthians, when he had named all who had seen GOD after his resurrection, has inferred : “Therefore, whether it were I, or they, so we preached, and so ye believed.” 1 Cor. xv. 9 ; thus confessing the agreement in doctrine of all those who saw GOD after his resurrection †.”

It may not be amiss to remark here, that, of those Hereticks with whom Irenæus contended, some rejected the writings of St. Paul, while by others these alone were received ; and that some there were who chose only certain passages out of the scriptures, to which

* In templo Dei sedente, ut sicut CHRISTUM adorent illum qui seducuntur ab illo. Lib. v. cap. xxiii. p. 352.

† Et rursus in Epistolâ quæ est ad Corinthios, cum prædixisset omnes qui DEUM post resurrectionem viderunt, intulit, “Sive autem ego, sive illi, sic annunciamus & sic credidistis.” Unam & eandem prædicationem confitens omnium eorum qui DEUM viderunt post resurrectionem a mortuis. Lib. iii. cap. xiii. p. 197.

which they would allow the authority of divine inspiration. With equal candour do those moderns proceed, who are daily calling into question the authenticity of such texts of the sacred writings as testify our Saviour's Godhead. They declare themselves ready and willing to subscribe the New Testament, provided no farther subscription be required: but I ask them now, what is that New Testament which they are thus prepared to admit of as the rule of their faith? Is it the English translation which we use? That is impossible; for the obnoxious texts are all contained in it; they have already declared that *it is false*, and that "*that which was only a lye, originally, is metamorphosed into absurdity.*" Is it the Complutensian edition? That too is impossible. "*Here is a manifest interpolation;*" for herein "we perceive the love OF GOD, because he laid down his life for us." 1 John iii. 16 *. Is it yet

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* The words in Italicks are quoted from Unitarian productions.

Some of the manuscripts of St. John's first epistle omit "of God", and read only, "hereby perceive we love, because he laid down his life for us:" Ἐν τούτῳ ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, ὅτι ἐκέντη ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδέμε. While others, of as good authority, have the words τῷ Θεῷ after ἀγάπην, affording the sense which our English translation has adopted. Whether these words are admitted into, or excluded from the text, is a matter of less importance than Unitarians, who contend so strenuously for their exclusion, seem to think. For if the possessor of "*the love*" be not expressed, *the love of God* is the general subject which St. John is urging as an example, and, consequently, "*of God*" must be here understood. The form of the expression requires that a possessor be at least understood; for it is not "hereby perceive we love" in the abstract (ἀγάπην), as they state it, but "hereby perceive we *the* love," (τὴν ἀγάπην). And, after thus particularizing the love, it is even necessary to indicate the love of whom; and this, as I have already stated, is sufficiently done without expressing the possessor, for the love OF GOD is the general subject. "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us." 1 John iv. 12. "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God; he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." 1 John iv. 8.

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the elaborate edition of Dr. Mill? I doubt, not; for in this appears "*that nonsensical proposition,*" "*that impious*

The very next verse to this recounts the goodness of God in sending his only begotten Son into the world to become a propitiation for our sins, that we might live through him: and, in terms exactly similar to those in question, the apostle tells us that, "in this was manifested THE LOVE OF GOD towards us." 1 John iv. xviii. "Εν τούτῳ ἐφανερώθη ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν. 1 John iv. 8. In short, not to multiply examples, the whole end and purpose of the apostle, in writing this short epistle, is to urge THE LOVE OF GOD as an example and motive to brotherly love; and the very passage under consideration closes with a question concerning the uncompassionate: "How dwelleth the love OF GOD in him?" Where incontrovertibly the same love that is used as an argument to benevolence in the commencement of the sentence, and is there said to be perceived by such as lay down their lives for the brethren, is denied to dwell in such as, on the contrary, shut up their bowels of compassion from them.

But perhaps that critical Acumen, which has discovered two Gods, a Θεός and an ὁ Θεός, a vicegerent God, and a supreme God, in the scriptures*, (in which these terms are found almost as often as the word Trinity) may, upon a new exertion of itself, discriminate also between ἀγάπην and ἡ ἀγάπη, and so prove to a demonstration that the article precedes ἀγάπην in the passage before us for the sake of energy. But "God is love," says the apostle: and if, in any instance, this word should be emphatically distinguished, one would imagine it then most necessary when it is predicated of God himself; notwithstanding which, it stands here unattended by its satellite article, and we are in plain terms told ὁ Θεός ἀγάπην ἐστίν.

Out of one hundred and twenty manuscripts consulted by Wetstein, says this Polytheist, the word Θεός was found but in one: but, in a note, he has been most graciously pleased to inform us that St. John's epistles were not contained in the one hundred and twenty manuscripts. I cannot therefore sufficiently testify my surprize that this text was not contained in them all. Pray, in how many of these manuscripts did St. John's epistles appear? When we are told the number of these, we shall be better able to judge of the authority of one, which may bear a larger proportion to the truth when tardily told, than to one hundred and twenty fallaciously advanced into the text, and conspicuously obtruded upon the eye.

But he proceeds: "Of printed editions of any repute, it is only to be found in the Complutensian and Geneyan; and of versions, the modern English

* See Remarks on Script. Confut. p. 70 and 94.

impious forgery," "which belies the Holy Ghost." "He has foisted into the sacred writings one whole text, which deforms

English only has it." The fraudulence of this assertion I shall presently demonstrate, but, in the mean time, will shew that the author is himself conscious of it; for, in the very next sentence, waving the advantage that might accrue to his cause, if he could maintain the position, he declares, "But there is no occasion to appeal to manuscripts, editions, or versions to reprobate the word. It is impossible St. John should have wrote ἐκεῖν^ο, referred to an antecedent immediately preceding;" and as a reason for this impossibility, he farther proceeds to say that "there is a use of the Greek pronoun ἐκεῖν^ο very frequent in all authors when they mean to mark out a person with particular emphasis without naming him." Remarks on Script. Conf. p. 94. Thus do we see the beloved disciple and witness of our Lord tied down to transcribe only the suggestions of this man's understanding, and interdicted the use of any language but such as he shall prescribe; but the evangelist must be set at liberty from the narrow circumscription, or admitted very frequently to have performed more than miracles, even impossibilities; for in no less than twenty-two instances have I found him using ἐκεῖν^ο, not referred to an antecedent, which, for the advantage of energy and perspicuity, is emphatically nameless, but referred to an antecedent immediately preceding. A few of these shall be laid before my reader, and will probably suffice to set aside this silly rule. For the English I refer to the chapter and verse in our Bible.

Ὅτι Μισσίας ἐρχέσθαι, ὃ λεγομέν^ο Χριστός. Ὅταν ἰδῇ ἐκεῖν^ο ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν πάντα. John iv. 26.

Ὁ ποιήσας μὲ ὑγιῇ, ἐκεῖν^ο μοι εἶπεν. John v. 11.

Ὁ ἀναθεάνων ἀλλαχόθεν, ἐκεῖν^ο κλέπτῃς ἐστὶ καὶ ληστῆς. John x. 1.

Ὁ λογὸς ὃν ἐλαλήσα, ἐκεῖν^ο κρινεῖ αὐτόν. John xii. 48.

Ἦλθον ἔν οι ὑπηρέτες πρὸς τὸς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ φαρισαίους, καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι. John vii. 45.

Ἐρχεῖται ἔν προς Σίμωνα Πέτρον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖν^ο. John xiii. 16.

Ὅταν δὲ ἰδῇ ἐκεῖν^ο, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, &c. John xvi. 13.

deforms and pollutes them in spite of demonstrative evidence." Is it the Alexandrian manuscript? May not anti-

As I have already said that the expression of these words is of no great importance to the main question, because, if not expressed, they are certainly implied; and that, as "love is of God," the words *τὴν ἀγάπην*, if the article be used only for eminence, must signify "the love of God," I am the less anxious to establish the reading: and I should drop the subject here, were it not essential to the reader's ease in forming his own judgement, that he should know, and so stand guarded against such unwarrantable arts as have been used to inveigle him into error.

Editions and versions can go but a little way towards deciding a question of this kind; but where a new species of logic is introduced, and a general negative positively affirmed, it may be worth while to shew how little reliance is to be placed upon the assertions of such writers, and how very cautiously we should admit their attestations where we have it not in our power to examine.

"Of versions," this man says, "the modern English only has it."

In York Minster Library there is a very *antient* English translation of the New Testament. It is a manuscript, the age of which I find no rule precisely to ascertain. The Saxon character of *th* is used throughout, and the language is at least as old as that of Chaucer. By whom it was made I care not, but suspect it to be Wycliffe's version, and to have been written during his own life. The character, the Saxon termination of plurals and participles, and the spelling, which does not use so many redundant letters as were introduced about a century and a half after his time, justify this conjecture, into the truth of which I have now neither leisure nor opportunity to examine.—The controverted text, however, is thus translated in this certainly *not modern* English version.

"In this thing we hav knowe the charite of God: for he putte his lyf for us; and we owen to putte oure lyves for oure brithren. He that hath the catel (*quære* chatel) of this world and seeth that his brother hath need, and closith hise entrailis fro him: how dwellith the charite of God in him?"

The obscurity in which this manuscript has heretofore lien might be admitted as an amply sufficient apology for not having known it, if that very ignorance were not made use of as an argument. This man, if we may believe him, (and when he attests his ignorance I do believe him) certainly did not know of any version which contained the text thus, except the modern English. Had he modestly said so, he should have received the information I now give him without a rebuke; but this best witness of an *alibi* did not know that *there is such a version*, and therefore, he concludes, *there is not such a version*.—But farther:

Le Clerc turns it *de Dieu*.

The vulgate version acknowledges τῷ Θεῷ.

antiquity plead for the admission of this venerable record? No, no: that Christ is over all God blessed for ever, Rom. ix. 5, is attested in it; and that assertion, which "*St. Paul could never make, because the thing is absolutely impossible,*" is yet produced here; and the authority of this apostle brought to evince that Christ, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation. And no matter whether the ground of this question be in scripture or not, it must be answered before the authority of the Alexandrian manuscript is allowed of, "*if Christ were the supreme God, by what means did he cease to be*

Arias Mortanus, in the 15th century, turns it *charitatem Dei*.

And N^o. 38, in the Harleian collection, which is the edition of Nicholas de Lyra, printed at Rome so early as the year 1472, contains this verse thus translated, "*In hoc cognovimus charitatem DEI, quum ille animam suam pro nobis posuit, & nos debemus pro fratribus ponere,*"

Who is to decide upon the *repute* of editions? Plantin exhibits, and Scaliger acknowledges the words $\tau\tilde{\epsilon}$ $\Theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$. To me this seems sufficient to set aside the exclusive assertion of the Polytheist, that none but the Complutensian and Genevan editions contain it. But if the Complutensian stood alone, its authority is such, that all the succeeding editions cannot preponderate against it; for, being the first ever published, it had only manuscripts to follow; of these a great number were collected and collated together, and of their contents this valuable book bears an ample testimony.

In the public library of Complutum (which is *Alcala* in Spain) there is contained a manuscript, sent thither from Rhodes, in which Dr. Mill acknowledges these words are read. He says this manuscript is of venerable antiquity (*venerandæ vetustatis*). A suspicion arises that this is not the manuscript in which Wetstein found the words $\tau\tilde{\eta}\nu$ $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\tilde{\epsilon}$ $\Theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$, and if not, here is a second manuscript which contains them. I need add no more to falsify the affirmative negation of my Remarker. Sophistry may expose its own weakness, but enquiry is necessary to the detection of falsehood. This I have gone into for my reader's ease, and the result I have stated as a warning against the snares that are spread for him. If he find this note tedious, let him remember that he would have found the discussion of the passage much more so. I therefore hope he will consider the far greater trouble which I have taken off of his hands as my sufficient apology for what unavoidably remains to him in the perusal of a few diminutive pages, which I here submit to his candour.

be so ?" The means by which the omnipotent operates shall never be acknowledged till he explains them, and so this manuscript cannot be subscribed; but this is the only reading of all the manuscripts; these therefore are not to be acknowledged; all the editions adopt it; every version is made accordingly. In short, whatever little variety may appear among the manuscripts, editions, or versions, in some of these obnoxious texts they all concur; there is not one of them but in some of these particulars lays this predicted stumbling block in the way of the Jew and the Unitarian. What then is to be done, is the New Testament to be subscribed? It cannot be, nor, tho' proposed, was it ever seriously intended. The scriptures, as transmitted to us, must be rejected all together; for no Unitarian, unless (for the sake of a bishoprick or archdeaconry) he be capable of subscribing to the thirty-nine articles, while he writes against the propriety of such an act, can set his hand to such *absurdities, forgeries, and falsehoods* as they contain in their present form. They must be new-modelled: suspicions may arise that transpositions may have happened; corrections must be admittted; and before subscription to the gospel can be rendered proper, the gospel must be new made by Unitarians, and rendered proper for subscription. I propose a brief question to men of this denomination: What subsisting scriptures are you ready conscientiously to subscribe?

It is predicted of our Saviour, that "a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name Emanuel: butter and honey shall he eat, &c." Isa. vii. 14, 15; on which Irenæus proceeds to remark, "that both these circumstances are stated of him, lest, from an assertion that he shall eat butter and honey, we should understand him to be barely man; and lest, on the other hand, from the name of Emanuel, we should

should surmise that he was God without flesh:" "and thus the Spirit has diligently signified his birth, that it was of a virgin, and his substance, that he is God *." "That he is Man, and that he is God; that as Man he may have a feeling of our infirmities; and as God, have mercy upon them, and forgive us our debts which we owe to God our Maker †." "To this end God was made Man, and the Lord himself shall be our salvation ‡." "Destroying sin, he extended salvation to his own work; for the Lord is most tender, and merciful, and loving to mankind; he therefore attached and united Man to God; for if Man had not overcome the enemy of Man, the enemy had not been fairly overcome. And again: unless God had extended salvation, we had not firmly possessed it; and unless Man had been joined to our God, Man could not have been made a partaker of incorruption; for it was necessary for a Mediator between God and men, that, by a participation and fellowship with both, he should reconcile both, and cause that God should receive man, and that man should dedicate himself to God §." "The breath
of

* Diligenter igitur significavit Spiritus Sanctus, per ea quæ dicta sunt, generationem ejus quæ ex virgine, & substantiam quoniam Deus, uti non per hoc quod manducat butyrum & mel nudè solummodò eum hominum intelligeremus, neque rursus per nomen Emanuel, sine carne eum Deum suspicaremur. Lib. iii. cap. xxvi. p. 217.

† Quomodo Homo & quomodo Deus: & quomodo Homo compassus est nobis, tanquam Deus misereatur nostri, & remittat nobis debita nostra quæ factori nostro debemus Deo. Lib. v. cap. xv. p. 338.

‡ Deus igitur Homo factus est, & ipse Dominus salvabit nos. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 215.

§ Salutem donavit plasmati suo, destruens peccatum; est enim piissimus & miserecors Dominus, & amans humanum genus, hæere itaque fecit & adunivit hominem Deo. Si enim Homo non vicisset inimicum Homi-
nis,

of life, which was from God, being united to the clay, of which he was formed, animated man, and held forth a rational animal. Thus, in the end, the word of the Father and Spirit of God being united to the old substance of Adam's vessel, forms a living and perfect Man, taking on him the perfection of paternal character, to the end that, as we all die in the animal breath, which we derive from Adam, so we shall all be made alive by the spiritual life," which has been given to the Man Jesus Christ, from whom we are henceforward to derive a new inheritance in those things which we lost in Adam †. "Vain, therefore, are such as do not receive into their faithless minds the union of God and Man, but, persisting in the old leaven, are unwilling to understand that the Holy Ghost came upon Mary, and the power of the Highest overshadowed her; wherefore that which was conceived is holy, and the Son of the most high God, the Father of the universe, who effected his incarnation, and shewed an example of a new generation, that, inasmuch as by the

nis, non justè victus esset inimicus. Rursus autem, nisi Deus donasset salutem, non firmiter haberemus eam. Et nisi Homo conjunctus fuisset Deo nostro, non potuisset particeps fieri incorruptibilitatis. Oportuerat enim Mediatorem Dei & hominum per suam ad utrosque domesticitatem, & ad amicitiam & concordiam utrosque reducere, & facere ut Deus assumeret hominem, & homo se dederet Deo. Lib. iii. cap. xx. p. 211.

† *Ea quæ fuit a Deo inspiratio vitæ, unita plasmati animavit hominem & animal rationabile ostendit: sic in fine verbum Patris & Spiritus Dei, adunitus antiquæ substantiæ plasmationis Adæ, viventem & perfectum hominem, capientem perfectum Patrem, ut quemadmodum in animali omnes mortui sumus, sic in spiritali vivificemur. Lib. v. cap. iii. p. 318.*

Tertollian says, "His flesh being formed in the womb of a virgin, he was born a Man mixt with God." *Nascitur Homo Deo mistus. Tertul. Apolog. adv. Gent. p. 62. Edit. Plantin. 1583. fol.* Cyprian has used a similar expression; and the testimony of their predecessors has been largely stated as to this point already.

the former generation, we inherited death, so by this generation we might inherit life *." How unfortunately, therefore, has Mr. Lindsey selected Irenæus as an example that the early fathers were ignorant of the two natures in Christ! Apology, p. 205.

Can we now hesitate to pronounce, upon the faith of Irenæus, that he believed "the Son of God to be God †," and to be one with the Father, God ‡? and can we entertain a doubt that he believed also in the Holy Ghost, as personally distinguishable from the Father and the Son, though with them one in Godhead, when he tells us "that man was fashioned after the image and likeness of the uncreated God, the Father willing his creation, the Son ministering and forming him, the Holy Ghost nourishing and encreasing him §?" And when he farther declares "that the church disseminated through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth; received from the apostles and their disciples a belief in one God, the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, the sea, and all that

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* Vani autem et Ebionæi, unionem Dei & Hominis perfidam non recipientes in suam animam, sed veteri generationis perseverantes fermento, neque intelligere volentes quoniam Spiritus advenit in Mariam & virtus Altissimi adumbravit eam: quapropter & quod generatum est sanctum est, & Filius altissimi Dei Patris omnium; qui operatus est incarnationem ejus & novam ostendit generationem: uti quemadmodum per priorem generationem mortem hæreditavimus, sic per generationem hanc hæreditaremus vitam. Lib. v. cap. ii. p. 316.

† Filius Dei qui Deus est. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 215.

‡ Vide supra, p. 112.

§ Plasmatus homo secundum imaginem & similitudinem constituitur infecti Dei, Patre quidem bene sentiente, Filio verò ministrante & formante, Spiritu verò nutriente & augente. Lib. iv. cap. lxxv. p. 310.

in them is ; and in one Jesus Christ, who hath taken flesh for our salvation ; and in the Holy Ghost, who, by the prophets, revealed the dispensation, and the advent, and the birth by a virgin, and the sufferings, and the resurrection from the dead, and the assumption into heaven of the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord ; and his return or advent from heaven in the glory of the Father, to gather together in one all things, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind, that, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, should bow to Christ Jesus our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, and every tongue to confess to him ; that in all things he will judge righteously, and that he will send into eternal fire the irreligious, the unrighteous, the lawless, and the blasphemers ; but to the righteous and the holy, to such as have kept his commandments, and have continued in his love, whether from the beginning, or from having turned to him with repentance, he will, of his grace, grant life incorruptible, and invest them with eternal glory †."

With

† Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὀικουμένης
 ἕως πρώτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ
 τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβῶσα τὴν, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα
 παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν ἔρανον, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς
 θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αἰνοῖς, πύριν. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν
 Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σω-
 τήριας. Καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς
 τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλευσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένης γενέσθαι,
 καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον
 εἰς τὰς ἑρὰν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κύ-
 ριου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἑραγῶν, ἐν τῇ δοξῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς, πα-
 ρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀνα-
 σῆσαι

With this early creed I shall conclude my extracts from the venerable Irenæus, whose entire work must be perused by a reader desirous of examining into every assertion, which he has made to the same purpose. The few which I have produced are amply sufficient to warrant an inference that Irenæus was not an Unitarian.—What modern Unitarian concurs with the doctrines here exhibited?

The second century still subsists, the church has not yet survived the apostles many years, when, lo! the dreaded name of Trinity grates harshly on the ears of Ebion, Marcion, Artemon, and Paul of Samosata; nor does it sound more harmoniously in those of their modern disciples, who treat with the utmost resentment the memory of THEOPHILUS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, who first pronounced it, or who is at least the earliest writer in whose works this term is preserved to us. Mr. Lindsey, who appears to possess by far the best heart of the whole fraternity, is content with saying, “that it was first used by Theophilus, a Gentile convert, Bishop of Antioch, but in no great conformity with what it is made to signify at present.” Apol. p. 12.

The

ᾗσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτῇ, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ὑπερανίων, καὶ ἐπιγένων, καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πάντα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογησῇ αὐτῷ: καὶ κρίνῃ δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃ, καὶ τέρας εἰσεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνομους, καὶ βλασφῆμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰῶναι πῦρ πέμψῃ, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ τηρήσῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμνηκόσι, τοῖς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μελανόας, ζῶν χαρισάμενοι ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσῃ, καὶ δόξην αἰῶναι περιποιήσῃ.

Lib. i. cap. ii. p. 34.

The origin of Theophilus is unknown : that he was a Gentile convert, is true ; but by what means brought over to christianity, unless by studying the scriptures, is uncertain. In the year 169 he was appointed Bishop of Antioch, where he presided thirteen years, and then died, it is to be presumed, a natural death, as there subsists no record of his having suffered martyrdom.

There is extant but one short work of this father, written in a diffusive, but not inelegant stile : it consists of three books, and carries internal evidence of having been composed only as an introduction to a much larger account of the doctrines of christianity.

Our author directs it to his friend Autolycus, who still continued in the belief of the heathen gods, and appears, from the tenor of Theophilus's discourse, to have grounded his belief in them upon the antiquity of their religion, and also to have vilified christianity, not only on account of its novelty, but its irreconcilableness with the Greek philosophy ; and particularly with the doctrines of Plato, which he seems to have adopted and maintained.

The conversion of this friend is the purpose of the writer, who had been a convert himself. Having therefore once entertained the same opinions, he was well acquainted with the grounds of Autolycus's dislike to christianity, and accordingly opposes himself to the tenets of his friend with a good deal of address. He decries the absurdity of heathen worship, and shews that the gods of the Greeks were either the work of men's hands, or at the best but men born in, and therefore subsequent to the formation of, the world ; whereas his God was the creator of it, therefore existing before it, and by consequence the inspirer of any history
of

of the creation, to which no man could otherwise bear testimony. He then proceeds to declare, that God did inspire such a history, from which it appears that he revealed himself to the first-made man; and thence takes occasion to shew that christianity commenced with the first revelation, and was therefore of higher antiquity than heathenism. He advances a little way in the recital of God's dispensations towards man, but in such a manner as makes it evident that he is laying a groundwork for a much larger communication than he dare to make at once, knowing well the prejudices which he had to combat with. He gets a little upon the philosophic ground of his competitor, and borrows as many concessions as a man professedly an advocate of the Greek philosophy must necessarily make. He shews that the wisest of the philosophers themselves wished for a revelation from God, in order to dispel the ignorance which they acknowledged, again avers that such a revelation had been given; and then proceeds to compare the doctrines contained in it with those inculcated by philosophy, which, upon a comparison, he declares to be exceedingly contemptible. He begins his proofs of christianity with the first book of Moses, through which he proceeds in a direct line to the second, and so on through a considerable part of the Pentateuch, in such a manner as fairly authorizes a conclusion that he had intended, in a regular series, to have gone through the sacred writings, and produced all the scriptural proofs of christianity.

But this opinion receives much confirmation from the following circumstance: Throughout an entire work, written purely with a view to the conversion of an heathen to the truths of christianity, the name of Christ does not once occur. Is it likely then that the author has brought his whole argument to an end, when

when he has not yet so much as named the great object of it? Of the WORD indeed he speaks, expressly calls him God, and refers his friend to St. John's gospel for farther information; and, for the more easy transition to an account of the incarnation of God, he declares it was the WORD which walked in the garden, and pronounced sentence of death upon our fallen forefather. Whence he infers the possibility of local presence to him who is infinite. It is therefore indisputable that when the WORD is spoken of in the passage which I shall presently lay before my reader, it is to be interpreted of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Concerning the Holy Ghost, he speaks of him as God who spoke by the prophets; whom he terms "the Bearers of the Spirit*;" but that he may the more easily take his philosophic friend along with him, he conforms to his prejudices, and sometimes, as in the passage referred to by Mr. Lindsey, calls the Spirit the Wisdom of God. This passage therefore, thus considered, (and after a diligent perusal of the original work, I am certain that this is the right manner of considering it) will be found to bear a meaning altogether conformable with that sense in which the present time accepts the word Trinity.

It is of no consequence why Theophilus considers the three first days of creation, before the sun and moon were ordained, to have been typical of the Trinity; but that proposition, in which this tremendous word was first

* Πνευματοφοροί. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. p. 101. Paris. Edit. cum Just. Mart. Operib. Folio, 1636.

Υπο Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ διδασκόμεθα, τῇ λαλήσειᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις καὶ τὰ πάντα προκαταγγελοῦν. Lib. ii. p. 110.

first pronounced, asserts that “they are types of the TRINITY of God, and his Word, and his Wisdom *.”

The Word he declares to have been from all eternity in the bowels of God, and born before all things; to have been the Creatour of all things that were made by him, and that by him he made all things †. And in language which may assist in the explanation of St. John’s assertion, that Christ is “the beginning of the creation of God,” Rev. iii. 14, this father says that “the Word is called the Beginning, because he commences, and rules all things that were made by him ‡.” And again: “In the beginning God made the heaven, that is, the heaven was made by him who is the beginning §.”

In the Acts of the Apostles St. Peter is recorded to have addressed the Jews, saying, “ye have killed the *Prince of Life*,” Acts iii. 15. The word translated *Prince* in the text, is, in the margin of our Bible, acknowledged to signify *Author*, which I conceive from the last quotation to be the preferable term; for it is a deri-

* Τύποι ἔσι τῆς ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ. Theophili lib. ad Autolycom, lib. ii. p. 94. Edit. Paris. 1636, Fol. unâ cum Justini Martyris Operibus.

† Ἐχων ἔν ὃ Θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἐνδίαθλον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις σπλάγχθοις, ἐγένεσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἐξερευξάμενος πρὸ τῶν ὅλων. Τῷ τὸν λόγον ἔσχεν ὑπεργόν τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένων, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ πάντα πεποίηκεν. Theoph. ad Aut. lib. ii. p. 88.

‡ Οὐδὸς λέγειναι ἀρχὴν, ὅτι ἀρχεῖ καὶ κυριεύει πάντων τῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ δεδημιουργημένων. Ibidem.

§ Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ὕραν. Τελεῖται, διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ὕραν. Ejsd. lib. p. 92.

derivative from that word which is by Theophilus interpreted Beginning, or Incipient. Cleanthes in his hymn to Jupiter, in language extremely similar to that of St. Peter, invokes his God by the title of "Prince or Author of Nature;" but as a reason for ascribing this title to him, he proceeds, "for from thee we are," &c. *. Such a reason restrains the sense of the word to that particular meaning which it accounts for, and therefore in this passage I should rather conclude Jupiter addressed as Author than Prince of Nature. The apostle, it is true, has not limited the sense of this term in the text in which he uses it, but it is the very same as that used by Cleanthes; the manner of applying it is also the same, and, besides this, life may with great propriety be said to have had an Author, whereas it is rather a bold expression to denominate it a Principality. Therefore, on the whole, I should think the marginal translation of this assertion of St. Peter better adopted, "YE HAVE KILLED THE AUTHOR OF LIFE."

If Jesus Christ then be the *Author of Life*, according to St. Peter, the words of St. John, "this is the true God and eternal Life," 1 John v. 20, are certainly applicable to him. But the whole passage, of which this assertion makes a part, being "And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, *even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal Life;*" the author of familiar
illus-

* ΖΕΥΣ, ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ἈΡΧΗΓΕ *****.

Ἐκ σὺ γὰρ γένε' ἑσμέν, ἡχῶ μύμημα λαχόντες
Μένον, ὅσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν. Cleanthis
Hymnus ad Jovem.

Τὸν δὲ ἈΡΧΗΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ἀπεκρίναίς. Astorum,
cap. iii. ver. 15.

illustrations of certain passages of scripture, says, that “this last clause is manifestly explanatory of the title *him that is true*, or *the true one*, in the preceding clauses, of whom he hath given us an understanding, or with whom he has made us acquainted.” This doctrine has been abetted by another writer*, who says that “the word *even* is an interpolation, and the translation of the Greek preposition *ἐν* ambiguous, and that “we ought to read *verbatim*, we are *in* him that is true, *Ἐν τῷ ὕμῳ αὐτοῦ*, *by or through*, that is, by the ministry of his Son Jesus Christ.” “This” he says “is in a thousand places the meaning of the preposition *ἐν*.”—Be it so; and yet if there were any other term signifying *by or through* to be found in the whole extensive compass of the Greek language, St. John would most assuredly have preferred the use of it here to the repetition of a word that has been but that moment employed in a different sense.

Ἔσμεν Ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ, Ἐν τῷ ὕμῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς καὶ ζῶν αἰῶνος. Such are the words of the original: and now, why we ought in this case to take this one and the same word in two distinct senses, making it in one instance signify *in*, and in the other contiguous assertion *by or through*; why we ought to read *verbatim*, “we are *in* him that is true, *by or through* the ministry of his Son Jesus Christ,” any more than we ought to read *verbatim*, “we are, *by or through* the ministry of him that is true, *in* his Son Jesus Christ,” unless for the purpose of maintaining a presumed hypothesis, I acknowledge myself too blind to see. But if, as the case indisputably stands, the same word in both these instances signify the same thing, then “his Son Jesus Christ” is put into ap-

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position

* See Remarks on Script. Confut. p. 71.

position with "him that is true," and the connecting term *even* has been properly supplied by the translators, not as an interpolation, which it has been so uncandidly called, but as an expletive required by the idiom of our language, in order to mark that apposition; in short, as necessary to the only adequate English phrase, into which it was possible to render the original Greek.—But the process is, this is a truth, therefore the scriptures teach it.—But the scriptures do not teach it; then wrest them, cries the Unitarian.—But they are too strong to be bent to the purposes of your sect; then utterly reject them, cries the Unitarian, henceforward be the appeal to our own infallible reason, on which there is an hand-writing, that we need no Daniel, with the Spirit of God, to interpret for us; beyond what is here explained we desire, we will admit no explanation, and God is ignorant beyond what we know.

With regard to the declaration already stated, that the clause, "*This is the true God*," is explanatory of the preceding clauses, I should conceive that the original Greek, if consulted, will be found to confute it. I will not take upon me to assert that it was *impossible* for St. John, to have written the pronoun ἑὸς with reference to any other antecedent than that which immediately precedes it; but in the present instance, I think it extremely improbable that he wrote it with reference to any other antecedent but the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, which does immediately precede it; for, on the mention of his name, the pronoun is changed apparently with a view of distinguishing the Son from the Father. The sentence runs ἐν τῷ ὕμῳ ἌΤΤΟΥ, (that is, *of the Father*) and the name of our Lord put into apposition with ὕμῳ, immediately follows (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ), upon which the apostle, instead of taking up
AY-

"ΑΥΤΟΥ, which might have referred to the Father, whom he had already signified by it, proceeds, ὅΥΤΟΥ ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός, making use of a pronoun which I am firmly persuaded refers to the name which is immediately antecedent. In this country, let us speak of ever so many persons, we have but the one pronoun *he* to refer to each of them. This very frequently occasions confusion, and renders it difficult to decide which is the antecedent intended by it; but the more copious language of the Greeks possessed many pronouns of this signification, by the due disposition of which they were enabled to maintain the distinction among their respective antecedents, without coming under a necessity of recurring to the names referred to by them. It is not therefore in order to controvert our translation that I appeal to the original Greek, I apply to it only for an explanation of a passage, the sense of which our less extensive language has not been able so fully and distinguishingly to express.

But the author of the interpretation just considered proceeds, and declares the verse before us to be "an allusion to the words of Christ addressed to the Father, and recorded by this very apostle. *This is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent,*" John xvii. 3; and then asserts, that unless his explanation of 1 John v. 20, be admitted, "these two texts flatly contradict one another; for how can the Father be the only true God if the Son be God also?" However averse this gentleman may be to the tenets of our church, he cannot be a stranger to them; he must know that had he extended his question so as to make it comprehend the Holy Ghost also, we are yet furnished by that creed, which has given such offence to Unitarians, with a direct answer, "the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy

Holy Ghost is God, and yet they are not three Gods, but one God *." Thus we reconcile the Godhead of each

* Were I to quote immediately from Athanasius, I should certainly fail to engage the attention of Unitarians, who will perhaps pay more respect to a citation at second-hand from this obnoxious writer, particularly when they learn that it has been made by Mr. Lindsey himself, who tells us that "St. Athanasius, writing against the Arians, owns that, on account of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Heathens of that time charged them with holding many Gods themselves." *Apology*, p. 91.

Since, therefore, the objection was made on account of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, it is evident that the *many* Gods objected to the early Christians amounted exactly to *three*. This charge, therefore, it is that Athanasius (if Athanasius be indeed the Author) would refute in that profession of his faith which I have quoted above; and the great particularity which prevails throughout this creed was, at the time of its composition, absolutely necessary in order to obviate Gentile calumny and heretical misconstruction. In almost every proposition the author states the premises from which we are to infer, he then pronounces a negative upon the inference of the Greek or the Unitarian, to which he immediately opposes that truth which the apostles, the fathers, who had been his predecessors, and the whole subsisting church, in concurrence with his own excellent understanding, had deduced from them. Does not an air of controversy prevail through the whole composition? Is it not evidently held forth as a shield to protect the true faith from the assaults of Arius? Nay, the very objections and evasive subtilties of those who endeavoured to corrupt Christianity are almost as obvious, from the negatives put upon them throughout this declaration of a Christian's faith, as the truth is from the affirmatives with which he sustains her cause.—In proof that the Holy Ghost was not worshipped in the primitive church, Mr. Lindsey declares that "the antient fathers, when they mention the objections of the Heathens on this subject, (viz. of Christians holding more Gods than one) do not speak of them as levelled against the notion of *three* Gods, but of *two* only; whereas, if the notion of the divinity of the Holy Ghost had been then fashionable, they would have made the same objection as is now made by Jews and Mahomedans; not against *two* Gods, but against *three*." P. 146. In the first place, I cannot avoid observing that this remark acknowledges the divinity of Jesus Christ to have been fashionable, as one of the two Gods objected to; and gives us reason to think that, if the charge had extended to three Gods, Mr. Lindsey would admit worship to have been paid to the Holy Ghost as the third. In order, therefore, to induce his admission of the Holy Ghost as God, I would recommend to this gentleman first to reprove his own assertion concerning St. Athanasius, which I have transcribed above; he will there

each with the uninfringed Unity of the Godhead; for finding it revealed that each of these three persons is

there find that more than *two* Gods were objected; let him then consult Tertullian, and learn that "they object the doctrine of two or *three* Gods to us." Itaque duos aut tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari. Tertul. adv. Praxean, cap. iii. Some grounds for this objection he may also find in the 44, 50, 54, 57, 63, 66, 79, 80, 84, 108, 112, 124, pages of this Enquiry, from which it will appear that the worship of the Holy Ghost was quite fashionable with all the fathers as yet quoted. But, to use the language of Tertullian concerning the Hereticks of his time, "they conceive the number and disposition of the Trinity to be a division of the Unity; whereas the Unity, (*which implies the combination of a number*) deriving out of itself a Trinity, is not subverted, but abetted by it." Numerum & dispositionem Trinitatis divisionem præsumunt Unitatis, quando Unitas ex semetipsâ derivans Trinitatem non destruat ab illâ sed administretur. Adv. Prax. cap. iii.

Concerning that clause in the Nicene, or rather Constantinopolitan creed, which now says that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Mr. Lindsey quotes from Bishop Pearson an assurance that, not having constituted a part of the original formulary, the words "*and the Son*" were added by Pope Nicholas the First. (*See Apol. Note, p. 146.*) I grant the fact; but what would Mr. Lindsey infer from it? that as he has made the doctrine of the Trinity subsequent to the name of it, so this doctrine had its commencement when first professed in a creed? If this be the point insinuated, a declaration made in the fourth century shall defeat the purpose. Pope Nicholas the First, against whom the charge of inventing new articles of faith seems brought, presided at Rome, A. D. 868, whereas Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, a poet of no mean reputation, had, near five hundred years before the date of his pontificate, preferred the following address to the Trinity in Unity:

Ades, Pater supremè,
Quem nemo vidit unquam,
Patrisque sermo, Christe,
Et Spiritus benigne;
O Trinitatis hujus
Vis una, Lumen unum,
Deus ex Deo perennis,
Deus ex utroque missus.

Be present; O supreme Father,
whom no man hath seen at any time,
O thou Word of the Father, Christ,
and thou O merciful Spirit; O thou
one Power, one Light of this Trinity,
eternal God of God; O God sent
forth from both.

Here the procedure of the Holy Ghost from both the Father and the Son is as explicitly set forth as in the article added to the Constantinopolitan creed by Pope Nicholas, which is sufficient to establish the antiquity of this

tenet

is God, and finding it also revealed that there is but one God, we do not say that there are therefore three Gods; but confiding in the word of the spirit of truth that each assertion is true, we have recourse to this solution, that there is a Trinity in Unity. We do not polytheistically say there are therefore two, or three Gods, but on the contrary, that there is but one God. It is not because we comprehend the modus of this trinal Unity that we speak thus, but because we have been graciously informed of it by the unerring testimony of our Creatour. This we do not impiously reject, but knowing our own insufficiency to enquire beyond what he has been pleased to reveal, in his word
we

tenet in the Church. Its truth is another question; and this the frequent promises of our Lord, that the Holy Ghost should go forth, both from the Father and from himself, that he should take of his and shew it, &c. have so frequently attested, that a farther enquiry into the subject is unnecessary.

I have chosen the Words of Prudentius, because they are so direct, rather than those of any more antient writer, whose language might not so exactly concur with that of our Creed. I might produce many assertions from the earlier fathers to the same purpose, but more diffusively written; and there is no occasion for farther proof that Nicholas was not the inventor of this tenet.

Prudentius frequently denominates Christians *Christicolæ*, or the worshippers of Christ, to whom he addresses his waking thoughts thus:

Tu, Christe, somnum disjice,	Do thou, O Christ, dispell sleep,
Tu rumpe noctis vincula,	burst asunder the chains of darkness,
Tu solve peccatum vetus,	do away the old offence, and pour in-
Novumque lumen ingere.	to me a new light.

"To those who love and worship Christ, he says that the spontaneous gifts of nature afford sufficient."

"Hæc opulencia Christicolis
Servit & omnia suppeditat."

And, after a frugal meal, he acknowledges and ascribes our existence and well-being to the reign of Trinal mercy.

Denique quod sumus & agimus
Trina supernè regat pietas.

we lay the foundation of that faith which we humbly dedicate to him. We do not divide the substance while we avoid confusion of person. And that most excellent man, the late Dr. Leland, though a Dissenter from the discipline of our church, so far concurs in her doctrine as to declare that we do not hold a Trinity inconsistent with the Unity of God.—But antiquity shall enter into the question. Primate Usher has quoted Gregorius Nazianzenus, saying on the verse which suggested it, “that the Son and Holy Ghost are not excluded by it from the Godhead, but only the multitude of false gods*.” On which he proceeds to say from himself, “nor certainly will any man of a competent understanding accept these words of St. John xvii. 3, in any other sense than as if he had said, this is life eternal, that they may know thee to be the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent to be in like manner the only true God; for of necessity he must be acknowledged the *only* God who is the *true* God. Since Metaphysicians teach us that this *one* and *true* have a primary place in the first *Being*, and Theologists instruct us, that in the attributes of the divine essence the particle *only* does not exclude any of the persons subsisting in that *one* and undivided nature, but only creatures, and idols, and whatever is different from that infinite essence †.” And that it does not exclude our Lord Jesus Christ, Clement of Alexandria bears testimony, for to him in distinction not from the Father,

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* Non excludi a Divinitate Filium & Spiritum Sanctum sed tantum deorum falsorum multitudinem.

† Neque certe quis rectè sapiens aliter verba illa Johannis xvii. 3, acceperit, quam si dictum fuisset, “Hæc est vita æterna ut cognoscant te esse solum verum Deum; & Jesum Christum, quem misisti, solum itidem esse verum Deum.” Qui enim verus Deus est, ut solus Deus agnoscatur, necesse est: quum in primo ente illud *unum* & *verum* primarium habere locum Metaphysici; & in divinæ essentiae attributis particulam illam
solum.

or the Holy Ghost, but from Mammon and his train of attendant pleasures, he ascribes the title of the *only* God, and asserts that the servants of Mammon cannot know God. “For from the beginning there is *one alone* who is an enemy to all lusts, even the merciful Lord, who also became Man for our sake †;” which latter circumstance, this Father knowing that we cannot serve God and Mammon, urges as a motive to us to serve him in preference to Mammon. But “if indeed Christ were only Man, why did he impose upon us such a rule of faith as that he should say, “this is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent? If he were unwilling to be understood to be himself God, nay unless he intended to be considered as God, why did he add “and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent?” Had he intended to be thought not God, he would have added, “and *the Man* Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent;” but he has not annexed this appellation, neither has Christ revealed himself to us to be only a Man, but has conjoined himself with God, that by the conjunction he may be understood to be, as he really is, God. According therefore to this prescript, we are to believe in one Lord, the true God, and consequently on him whom he sent, Jesus Christ, who, as we have said, would not without a purpose have joined himself with the Father, nor unless he desired to be believed God himself also. Had he not desired to be thought God, he would have distinguished himself from

solum, personarum nullam in unâ & indivisâ illâ Naturâ subsistentium, sed creatoras tantum, & idola, & quicquid ab illâ infinitâ Essentiâ est diversum excludere, nos doceant Theologi. *Comment. in Epist. ad Philipp. Edit. suæ Ignat. & Polycarp. Epist. præfix. p. 88.*

† Εἰς μὲν ἐν μόνῳ, ὁ ἀντιδύμητος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὁ κύριος ὁ φιλέανθρωπος, ὁ καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπων. *Clement. Alex. Stromat. lib. vii. p. 216.*

from him. Had he known himself to be but Man, he would have ranked himself among men; and had he not known himself to be God, he would not have joined himself with God. But because none doubts that he was a Man, he is silent here on the subject of his Manhood; but he joins himself with God that he may prescribe a rule and formulary of belief in his God-head *." That Christ was therefore believed by the primitive church to be *the only true God*, set forth in both these texts, I have produced the testimony of the early fathers to prove; that he was also considered to be "the eternal Life," let the still earlier fathers attest. Ignatius, in a passage already quoted, (p. 90.) declares that *Christ, who is our true Life*, has the power to grant repentance unto life. But let me prove more than the faith of antiquity here, let me prove the fact itself, "When Christ, who is our Life, shall appear," says God by the mouth of Paul, Colos. iii. 4; but from himself let us hear, and let us accede to the attestation, that "I am the Resurrection and the Life," John xi. 25.

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* Si Homo tantummodo Christus, quare credendi nobis talem regulam posuit, quo diceret hæc est vita æterna, ut sciant te unum & verum Deum, & quem misisti Jesum Christum, si nolisset se etiam Deum intelligi? cur addidit & quem misisti Jesum Christum nisi quoniam & Deum accipi voluit? quoniam, si se Deum nollet intelligi, addidisset & quem misisti *Hominem* Jesum Christum; nunc autem neque addidit, nec se *hominem* nobis tantummodo Christus tradidit, sed Deo junxit, ut & Deum per hanc conjunctionem, sicut est, intelligi vellet. Est ergo credendum, secundum præscriptam regulam, in Dominum unum verum Deum, & in eum quem misisti Jesum Christum consequenter, qui se nequaquam Patri, ut diximus, junxisset, nisi Deum quoque intelligi vellet: separasset enim ab eo, si Deum intelligi se nolisset: inter homines enim tantummodo se collocasset, si hominem se esse tantummodo sciret; nec cum Deo junxisset, si se non & Deum nosset. Nunc & de Homine tacet, quoniam Hominem illum nemo dubitat; & Deo se jungit meritò, ut credituris Divinitatis suæ formulam poneret. Novitiani lib. de Trinitate, cap. 24.

The Trinity spoken of by Theophilus, consisting of GOD, and his WORD, and his WISDOM, I have already shewed that the second Person of that Trinity, which we believe, is intended by the WORD, which Theophilus has placed in the very same rank; but that the WISDOM, which occupies the third place in his, is the same as the Holy Ghost, to whom we (with Athenagoras, Justin Martyr, (*see p. 80.*) and the other fathers already quoted) ascribe the third rank in our Trinity, remains yet to be proved. To this purpose I shall extract but a single passage, in which the author, repeating his first position, makes use of the *Spirit* where he had before named the *Wisdom*. “By his Word and his Wisdom he founded the universe; for by his Word and his Spirit the heavens were established †.” Finding now such a concurrence between this father’s tenets and those of his predecessors, why are we to doubt that he used the Word in conformity with their descriptions of the subject? But inasmuch as we agree with them all, why are we to suppose that he used it in any other sense but that in which we accept the word Trinity? “It is the perfection of science to know the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,” says Origen *. Can any doubt here that Origen meant the Trinity? and yet this passage no more proves his belief in the Trinity than that quoted from Theophilus does the conformity of that father’s sentiments with ours; not so much indeed, for Theophilus has not only enumerated God, the Word, and the Wisdom, but has brought them under the one denomination

† Ὁ Θεός, διὰ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τῆς σοφίας, ἱποικήσει τὰ πάντα. Τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ αὐτῷ ἐσερρώθησαν οἱ ἕρanoi καὶ τῷ πνεύματι αὐτῷ. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. i. p. 74.

* Quæ est aliâ perfectio scientiæ nisi agnovisse Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum? Origen in Num. cap. xviii. homil. v.

nation of a *Trinity*, which is more than Origen has done in this instance. And had time swallowed up the enormous volumes of Origen, as it has destroyed the works of Theophilus, we should have been left without such an explanation as occurs in another place, where he makes this similar assertion, that “it is the principal office of science to know the Trinity, and that the knowledge of *his* creature is in the second place †.” Had the former of these two extracts only
come

† *Principale munus scientiæ cognoscere Trinitatem, secundo vero in loco cognoscere creaturam ejus. Origen. in Cant. Cant. hom. ii.*

This doctrine is frequently inculcated by Origen, who maintains that it is found in many passages of scripture, where I freely confess that I do not find it; but the tenets of the fathers of the first three centuries being the subject, I am not engaged to justify the arguments from which they deduced them, but only to shew what tenets they did infer and embrace. The following passage being to my present purpose, I shall produce it, though I do not see the justice of the author's reasoning. On the words, “Drink waters from the fountain of your wells,” he thus comments, “Let us see now to what wells it is that he ascribes this one fountain. I think that the knowledge of the unbegotten Father may be understood to be one well, that the knowledge of the only-begotten Son should be understood of another well; for the Son is another from the Father, for the Son is not the Father, as he himself says in the gospel, “There is another who beareth witness of me, even the Father.” And again, I think that the third well may seem to be the knowledge of the Holy Ghost, for he is another from the Father and the Son, as it is spoken of him in the gospel, “He shall send you another comforter, even the Spirit of Truth.” It is therefore this distinction of the three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is applicable to the plural number of *wells*. But of these wells there subsists but *one* fountain, for the substance and nature of the Trinity is but *one*; and thus the distinction of the holy scripture, which says, *from the fountain of your wells*, will be found no idle one. But the mystic sentence has curiously intimated, that what is spoken plurally should agree to the persons, but that what is spoken singularly should agree to the substance.

“Bibe aquas de puteorum tuorum fonte.” Videamus ergo quorum puteorum unum dixerit fontem. Ego ruto quòd scientia ingeni Patri unus possit intelligi puteus; sed et unigeniti Filii ejus agnitio alius puteus intelligi debeat; alius enim a Patre Filius & non idem Filius qui et Pater, sicut ipse in evangeliiis dicit *alius est qui & testimonium de me dicit Pater.*

Et

come down to us, I make no doubt we should now be told that Origen, though indeed he had enumerated the three Persons, did not entertain any idea of a Trinity; the latter, however, has snatched it from controversy; and, upon a comparison of both, it is now to be collected that he most certainly believed in this doctrine. But Theophilus has, in one view, placed before us the same three Persons, whom we acknowledge to be in the Unity of the Godhead, together with that denomination by which we still continue to express their personal distinction. And why we are now to conceive that Theophilus of Antioch did not use the word Trinity in exact "conformity with what it is made to signify at present," I must leave it with Theophilus of Essex-street to shew, for I am myself unable to perceive the disagreement. Does Mr. Lindsey accede to the Trinity of Theophilus? If not, he must admit that this Father is an exception to his general position; but if he concur, the bosom of our lenient church is open to receive the returning penitent; and, from my heart, I shall congratulate both true Christianity and this conscientious Man upon their mutual reconciliation: a reconciliation which must in this case take effect; for the few extracts which I have laid before my reader afford conclusive evidence that Theophilus of Antioch was not only not an Unitarian, but, on the contrary, altogether concurrent in such tenets as are at
this

Et rursus tertium puto videri puteum posse cognitionem Spiritûs Sancti, alius enim & ipse est a Patre & Filio sicut & de ipso in evangelio dicitur, *mittet vobis alium paracletum Spiritum Veritatis*. Est ergo hæc trium distinctio Personarum in Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto quæ ad pluralem puteorum numerum revocatur. Sed horum puteorum unus est fons, una enim substantia est & natura Trinitatis. Et hoc modo non otiosa invenietur scripturæ sanctæ distinctio quæ dicit *de puteorum tuorum fonte*. Sed observanter mystica signavit eloquia ut quod pluraliter dictum est personis, singulariter substantiæ conveniret. Origen, in Numer. cap. xxi. hom. xii.

this day professed by those of the communion of our established church.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, or CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, brings up the rear of this century, and proves that true Christianity had not undergone any change from the time of Ignatius who commenced it. This father was by birth an Athenian, but having, at Alexandria, presided over a school for the instruction of catechumens, (that is, students in the gospel not yet received into the church by baptism) he took his denomination from this seat of his residence. He was a man of the most extensive learning, as his writings largely shew. His Christianity he derived from the scriptures, in which he was exceedingly conversant, and also from the immediate disciples of the apostles. Eusebius speaks of him as being Presbyter of Alexandria in the year 195. His life, the end of which is unrecorded, extended into the third century; but the works from whence I quote were composed in the second, which sufficiently authorizes his being brought forward under that head.

He was a very voluminous writer, but there have descended to our time only three of his publications; they are entitled *An Exhortation to the Greeks*, *The Pedagogue* and *Stromata*, or *Miscellanies*. Some others have been ascribed to him, but being of doubtful authority, are excluded from my consideration.

Where the subject of the author's argument does not affect my position, I shall keep it out of sight. The errors which he combats with, whether Gentile or Heretical, are not within my province; I am only concerned

cerned to display the truths which he would establish in their room.

In his exhortation to the Greeks, he says, "Now has appeared to men this Word, who alone is both God and Man, the cause of all good to us, by whom, being instructed to live well, we are conducted to eternal life †."

In the 9th page of this work I undertook the defence of our translation of the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the 2d chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and, as I humbly conceive, there rescued that remarkable passage from such misinterpretation as subsisted when I printed the comment referred to. It is with regret I am now obliged to return to the same subject; but as the priests of infidelity multiply their diligence in support of her sinking cause, I shall not decline the controversy: it becomes a duty to engage in the behalf of truth, and not to suffer even the insignificance of an opponent to be his protection. My Remarker must therefore come forward once more, and once more the public must be implored to pardon his appearance thus obtruded upon them. I should only combat the arguments he makes use of, (if I may so call the suggestions of *his* understanding) and suffer the man to stand withdrawn from notice, were it not exceedingly contributory to his confutation to quote him with precision.

In his advertisement he declares that "*it is a nonsensical proposition that Jesus Christ is one with the Father God,*"

† Νῦν δὲ ἰωιφάνη ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ἔσθ' ὁ λόγος: ὁ μόνος ἄμω, Θεός τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος: ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν: παρ' ὃ τὸ ἐν ζῆν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι εἰς αἰδίου ζωὴν παραπεισόμεθα.
P. 7. Edit. Florent, ex Bibliotheca Medicea a Petro Victorio, fol. 155o.

God," p. 7; and in the epistle which contains the Remarks, says "*that she (reason) informs me that this proposition is false, by a much clearer evidence than she affords me of the existence of any revelation whatever. Shall I therefore renounce the clearer, and be guided by the darker evidence? No; I will not do that.*" p. 9. Having thus metamorphosed reason into a revelation, he asserts that from her he has received information that there are not three Persons in the one Godhead. And then making God responsible for whatever the writer thinks he has thus spoken, he pronounces that, "*if he be a God of truth, therefore he cannot contradict himself, nor, by a subsequent discovery of his will, confound those truths which were received from him by a former communication.*" p. 4. I have already dwelt sufficiently on the exceeding weakness of converting reason, which is the recipient of information, into a communication of truths, (*see p. 33, above*) so shall proceed directly to our author's comment on this passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians ii. 6, 7, 8, in which he modestly declares that, as our translation states the fact, "*the thing is absolutely impossible, and St. Paul could never say it,*" p. 89; and in the same spirit again says that, "*the difficulty lying in the word ἀρπαγμα, which is generally supposed to signify actively, ipsa actio rapiendi, the very act of seizing, if the word be taken in this sense, all the foregoing absurdities will follow; and therefore St. Paul certainly meant it not in this sense.*" p. 91. Such argument, I trust, can have but little influence upon the thinking part of mankind, who will rather enquire into the meaning of the apostle's inspired language, and infer from what he has said, than conceive him only an Amanuensis to the crude conceptions of half-reasoning men; who will argue, from what he has uttered, to their own belief, not from their own belief to what he ought to utter; and will rather conclude

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that,

that, if St. Paul has spoken the word in the controverted sense, the consequence is not absurdity; but, if incomprehensible, a mystery, and a fact concerning the incomprehensible nature of a Being, placed beyond the reach of human enquiry, unless so far as it may have pleased his infinite wisdom to make it known to us by revelation. That he may be a God of truth, whose subsequent discovery of his will shall altogether supersede the preconceptions of men, however they may have presumed upon their unquestionable certainty, however erroneously they may have even conceived them the dictate of a previous revelation. From amongst the ruins of this Remarker's shattered syllogisms there is yet to be gathered a concession, to which I shall hold him; for tho' he has most blasphemously reviled, yet has he admitted the consequence, provided the premises can be established. Upon their establishment, therefore, even he must concur in the necessary inference that Jesus Christ is one with the Father, God *.

The

* "We begin our researches into theology with the assumption of a certain set of religious tenets, and employ the most valuable hours of our existence in collecting arguments in their favour, and in vain endeavours to explain them, while every text of scripture is in its turn perverted from its obvious meaning in order to support them.

How much more reasonable previously to investigate, with patience and critical attention, the sense of each particular text or passage, in the natural order of the writer, and to defer the formation of opinion until, like a principle of sound philosophy, suggested by a numerous train of experiments, it forces itself with accumulated evidence on the yielding mind."—Such is the language of Mr. Jebb: and his illustration, which I do not clearly understand, alone passed by, the passage contains a melancholy truth, and a sensible remark upon it. I cannot therefore sufficiently testify my surprise, that my Remarker's train of reasoning should appear to Mr. Jebb to be irresistible. If analyzation be what this gentleman would recommend, I cannot understand how so gross a synthesis as that stated above can carry conviction with it to his mind. Am I to believe that Mr. Jebb has not assumed a certain set of religious tenets, when he can approve of such inverted argumentation: *this tenet alone is true, ergo the apostle has maintained this tenet?* Is it a principle of sound philosophy, that
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The great difficulty lying in the word ἀρπαγμα, as signifying *the very act of seizing*, this writer proposes two modes of removing it.

The first is much the same with that already refuted in the 9th page, for the Remarker supposes the word equivalent to ἀρπαγμα, in which case he says the meaning would have been clear: Non, ut prædam, arripuit, non prædam sibi duxit; *he considered it not as a thing which he had a right to seize and hold fast as his own*; and in this very sense it is probable that the apostle used ἀρπαγμα.” p. 92. And in this acceptation of the text he farther says, “It will prove as strongly as possible against the Athanasian Trinity.”—What it will prove in this case is perfectly immaterial, until some reason be assigned for translating the word into a sense which it cannot bear. It is not only not probable that the apostle used ἀρπαγμα for ἀρπαγμα, but it is absolutely not possible. By this new method of criticism, any one proposition that can be formed may be brought in proof of any one fact that stands in need of witnesses; for if the words of which it is composed have a direct contrary tendency, it is only to say they were written in the sense of any other words that will an-

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swer

the premises are false unless the hypothesis be true, and by inversion the premises follow from the hypothesis? I shrewdly apprehend that this mode of experimental religion, which Mr. Jebb recommends, is no other than a trial to be made upon the experiments themselves, which are to be judged of by the presupposed result, not the result deduced from the experiments; and such an experiment, as in any way opposes the system it was intended to support, must be pronounced to have failed, or to have been injudiciously made. The system is erected into the criterion, nor is the formation of opinion thus deferred: but scripture, consulted with a religion ready made, is altered, nay, flatly contradicted where it opposes, and only admitted true where it can be wrested to the maintenance of that religion.—The explanation of sacred mystery is surely not objected to our church with justice; it is only the Unitarian who withholds belief where he cannot explain.

swer the purpose, and the business is done at once. St. Paul might as well have written ἀρπαγμον for any other word in the Greek, or even in the English language, as for ἀρπαγμα*. Ἀρπαγμα as certainly signifies *the act of seizing* as our English word robbery does, and can no more be put for *the thing seized*. The licence of poetry is far exceeded here by the loose licentiousness of this Remarker's criticism.

I shall presently demonstrate that the early fathers of the church had no conception of such an abuse of language; but that, upon the authority of this passage concurring with many others, and coinciding with the general tenour of the holy scriptures, they believed exactly those truths which are at this day received among us.

The Remarker's second method of removing the difficulty attendant upon Unitarianism from the accepted inter-

* Wetstein, the laborious editor of the New Testament, has sufficiently proved the truth of this assertion. His unexampled diligence to subvert the sense universally put upon this passage, must have succeeded if success were possible; but he has failed most egregiously, and in effect become a powerful advocate of the accepted interpretation. Dr. Harwood also, the *liberal* translator of the word of God, has contributed his involuntary aid to the establishment of our *literal* and *servile* version; but, rather than acknowledge the force of the only argument he has adduced, he makes Plutarch, in his Treatise on Education, advise that young persons be restrained from committing *acquisition*. This is a perfectly new species of crime: but as every crime is properly an action, I should rather conclude that, when Plutarch desires that young persons be restrained from perpetrating ἀρπαγμον, he means by this term *the act of making acquisitions by violence*.—What the acquisition or act in this case is, the reader may find by consulting Dr. Harwood on this verse.

The word ἀρπασμα being indifferently used for ἀρπαγμα, analogy requires that ἀρπαγμός be understood to signify the same as ἀρπασμός; and the meaning of this term Plutarch has ascertained in saying, ἡ γὰρ Φιλικὸν προόμιον ἐνωχίας, ὑφαίρεσις, καὶ ἈΡΠΑΣΜΟΣ, καὶ χειρῶν ἀμίλλα. Sympol. ii. sub fin. Does it not here signify an act? Yes; *the very act of seizing*.

interpretation of ἀρπαγμον, is “a suspicion that this word may possibly be a passive adjective of that sort of signification which adjectives in *bilis* and participles in *dus* have among the Latins, and in this case the meaning of the passage would be indisputably determined to the same effect as has been just set down. Theocritus, idyll. xxiv. verse vii. has said ἐγερσίμον ὕπνον, *a wakeable sleep*. I suppose therefore ἀρπαγμον to be formed as a passive adjective from ἀρπαζω by the same kind of analogy as ἐγερσίμῳ is from ἐγείρω.” p. 92. In a subsequent publication, entitled “Addenda” to his Remarks, this writer has endeavoured to strengthen his suspicion by saying, “The conjecture that ἀρπαγμῳ may possibly be a passive adjective seems to receive farther confirmation from a passage in Xenophon’s Cyropædia, lib. vi. where we read that Cyrus, having invented a carriage of a new construction, to be drawn by eight yoke of oxen, for the purpose of conveying towers, πείραν ἔλαμβάνε τῇ ἀγωγῇ, *made a trial how far the drawing of it was practicable*.” p. 11.

In the first place, all this conjectural distress manifests that the suspector is not himself satisfied with his former efforts to elude this text, and that he does not consider himself to be extricated by them from the close-drawn trammels in which it binds him, and in which he exhibits such awkward writhings; for the conjecture itself, in order to set it aside, it might suffice to say it is void of all authority; but as this does not appear an argument of any weight with a well-determined Unitarian, I will not drop it here. The utter ignorance of the Greek language which the Remarker has betrayed shall first be exhibited, and the consequence of his conjecture, if admitted, shall be laid before my reader, who cannot impute this promise of success to vanity, having already seen the shadow I am going to engage.

Although

Although ἄγω, *duco, veho, to draw*, be the radix of ἀγωγίμων, *vehi practicabilis*, which (if I may be allowed the liberty taken by my Remarker of forming a word) I would translate *drawable*; yet it is not from ἄγω that this adjective is immediately derived, the substantive ἀγωγή, *vectura, conveyance, or the act of drawing*, intervenes, and from this it is that ἀγωγίμῳ is formed. In like manner, between the radix ἐγείρω, *expergiscor, to awake*, and the adjective ἐγερσίμῳ, *expergiscibilis, wakeable*, the substantive ἐγερσις, *excitatio, the act of awaking*, stands interposed, and from this it is that ἐγερσίμῳ is immediately derived. But to ἀρπάζω, *rapio, to rob*, the substantive ἀρπᾶγμῳ, *ip̄sa actio rapiendi, robbery, or the act of seizing*, bears the very same relation that ἀγωγή does to ἄγω, that ἐγερσις does to ἐγείρω, that ἀγερμῳ, *congregatio, the act of assembling together*, bears to ἀγειρω, *congrego, to assemble together*; and lastly, not to multiply examples, that ἄγμῳ, *fractio, the act of breaking*, bears to its radical verb ἄγω, *frango, to break*.

This man of erudition has also brought a passage from Longinus to maintain his conjecture, but what it has to say to the question I own I do not see. The word φάριον, being used as *a prey*, he has urged as an example of a similar kind; but φάριον does usually signify *a prey*, and therefore the term is not abused by Longinus's application of it. Besides this, it is neither an adjective nor a derivative from any verb, but, on the contrary, a substantive, drawing its original from a noun, φῶρ, *a thief*.

But let it now be for one moment granted that ἀρπᾶγμῳ signifies, as conjectured, *robable, seizable, of practicable seizure, or to be come at by robbery*, which is the precise meaning of such a passive adjective as the

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Remarker would form here; let us then stand on our guard against the juggle with which, in a translation of his own, he cunningly slips the *impropriety* of seizing the Godhead into the place of the *impracticability* which he had contended and endeavoured to argue for, and let us thence proceed to weigh the boasted merit of this proposed interpretation: the meaning will then be, “that Christ, not thinking the sceptre of heaven a seizable thing, not esteeming it a matter of practicable acquisition, but pondering the difficulties attendant upon an attempt to rob God of it, on consideration took another thought; and since he could not effect the possession of omnipotence and an eternal throne, but found that he might be crucified without obstruction, he therefore chose to undergo this most ignominious of deaths as the feasible or practicable side of an alternative.” This is incontrovertibly the true interpretation, if the conjecture be admitted; state it in closer terms and no change appears; “who being in the form of God, thought it not practicable to seize equality with God, or thought not to be equal with God a matter to be come at by robbery, but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.” Contract it yet farther, “not being able to fill himself he emptied himself.” Thro’ every change the same amazing absurdity is conspicuous. Impracticability must for ever defeat attempt, and so far argue inability in him who either has made, or by this consideration is restrained from making it. In human affairs, it would be a most extraordinary mode of proceeding for a man to throw away his own property, merely because his neighbour’s house is impregnable, and he cannot rob him. It is too absurd to be seriously argued with, and might be easily run to ridicule if the importance of the subject did not forbid it: the mere absurdity to which it argues, tolerably painted, would afford it largely. What a peevish

with Being does such an interpretation make of our great example of humility ! In what a blasphemy does it terminate !

I know not what future sense may be fastened upon this word ἀπταρτυμεν, but for my own part can only see one meaning which the original Greek can bear ; in this the translators of our English Bible have accepted it ; and as from every other mode of interpretation absurdity so very gross results ; I sincerely hope for my reader's concurrence in this conclusion, that, since being in the form of God, Christ thought it not ROBBERY to be equal with God ; Jesus Christ, who of right possesses that equality, is therefore one with the Father and the Holy Ghost that God, who is but one, and who giveth not his glory to another.

I have not yet done, apology can but protract, so I proceed to obviate an objection, not yet indeed applied to this passage, but which having been raised against another that contains a similar expression, I apprehend will be resorted to as the last refuge of defeated Unitarianism. Let me therefore be beforehand with them, and by anticipation take away the grounds of subsequent controversy.

An unsupported assertion having been made on John v. 18, that the words ἵσταν ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸ Θεῶν, which we translate "making himself equal with God," should not be so turned, but rendered "making himself like to God," my apprehension is, that this mode of translation may, if admitted, be carried over to the text in controversy, and the words τὸ ἵσταν ἑαυτοὺς Θεῶν be declared to signify only "to be like to God." It is true that equality always implies similitude, so far as the objects compared are equal ; but similitude does not in like

like manner imply equality; and hence, in both of these passages, our translation is justly made by the word “equal,” which signifies like in degree only. The labourers who had wrought the whole day complain that the lord of the vineyard had given as much to those who had laboured but an hour as to them who had borne the heat of the day, saying, Καὶ ἴσους ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐποίησας, “Thou hast made them equal to us,” Matth. xx. 12. In the Acts xi. 17, God is said to have given τὴν ἴσην δωρεάν, “an equal gift to them as to us.”—“Sinners also lend to sinners, ἵνα ἀπολάβωσι τὰ ἴσα, that they may receive an equivalent,” Luke vi. 34.—Concerning the new Jerufalem, St. John says that τὸ μήκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος, καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς ἴσα ἐστίν, “the length, and the breadth, and the height of it are equal,” Revel. xxi. 16.—Now every one of these instances, being concerned in measurement, prove to a demonstration that absolute equality is the likeness intended by the word ἴσα; and in a verse or two after that last quoted, St. John has evinced that this is the only kind of similitude which he means to signify by it; for when he has another sort to specify, he says that “the city was like unto clear glass,” not by ἴσα, which would have implied equality, but by ὁμοία ἡαλῶ καθαρῶ, Rev. xxi. 18, ὁμοία being the proper word to express mere resemblance.

But if at any time it shall be contended for, that this new construction of ἴσα is to be adopted in the passage under consideration, it must be esteemed a concession that the accepted meaning of the word ἀρπαγμον is not to be overturned; the very effort acknowledges it to signify robbery still; for surely it would be a most singular assertion to say that he who was in the form of God did not esteem it practicable to be like him; this could be no great “robbery” in “the express
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image of his person." And therefore, whenever Unitarians shall deem it more expedient to leave Christ only in possession of a likeness to, than a full equality with God, it must be considered as an acknowledgement made by themselves, that the object of Christ's thought, while yet in the form of God, (whatever it was) was evidently his right and property.

I know I shall be thought too timid in thus foreboding objections not yet brought, but I have good reason for this caution; the interpretation has already reached a similar passage, and is therefore, I conclude, at no great distance from this. When the Jews sought to kill Christ for "making himself equal with God," ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν τῷ Θεῷ, John v. 18, they esteemed it a robbery in him: in this, as in every other tenet, the modern Unitarian concurs with the Jew. So long as τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ is admitted to signify "to be equal with God," the word ἀρπαγμον must be wrested to any sense but its genuine one; but, leaving this term in possession of its literal meaning, then τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ (whatever it signify) is certainly the subject which Christ did not consider as a robbery. But, "to be equal with God," say the Jew and Unitarian, or, as they both state it, "to have made himself equal with God," is certainly a most flagitious robbery in one whose Godhead must not be admitted upon any terms. Is it not therefore now to be apprehended that, upon the establishment of the accepted signification of ἀρπαγμον, which I trust I have established, the subject τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ must next be dragged to the torture, and undergo the severity of Unitarian criticism? And is not that warning voice of service to mankind, which either obviates, or instructs in the means of obviating, such measures as are likely to be taken for the subversion of the Christian faith?

After

After the proofs already brought, that the words under consideration signify "to be equal with God," it may be deemed superfluous to adduce the farther authority of classic authors to ascertain their meaning: but Homer has made Apollo chide the presumption of Diomedes, who, making himself "equal to a God," Δαίμονι ἴσθ, encountered Æneas while under his divine protection, saying to him, that he should restrain his ardour, and "not conceive himself a match for, or equal to the Gods," μηδὲ θεοῖσι ἴσ' ἐθέλει φρονέειν; and Sappho has commenced her well-known Ode with a declaration that the happy subject of it to her "appears equal with the Gods."

Φαίνεται μοι ἕνθ' ἴσθ θεοῖσι.

The strict meaning of which words Catullus has preserved in his Latin translation of this exquisite little Poem.

"Ille mi par esse Deo videtur *."

Having now defeated the disingenuous efforts that have been made use of to destroy the authority of this text; having incontestibly proved that each particle of it is rightly translated, first that the subject is "*to be equal with God*," and secondly that of this it is rightly predicated that Christ thought it not a "*robbery*," I shall

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* I have possibly detained my reader too long on conjectures and suspicions, the absurdity of which his own eye may have at once detected; but as this passage has undergone "a numerous train of experiments," I chose to exhibit it as a fine example of the new process in religious alchemy. There is scarce a syllable of it which has not been tormented in the Unitarian crucible. It seems however to be of a very fixed nature, and not readily fusible under the hands of our modern Van Helmonts, which is rather extraordinary, as the imagination of my Remarker has afforded so very hot a furnace, which Mr. Jebb has since been pleased to provide with a reverberator.

proceed next to establish the whole together by the authority of the early fathers of the church.

And first the venerable Clement, whose Athenian birth, in all human probability, made him an equally competent judge of the Greek language with my Remarker, has quoted this passage; but, not having mentioned our Lord Jesus Christ, whose name, contained in a preceding verse, is the antecedent of WHO, with which this passage and his quotation commence, he has substituted such a nominative case to the verb *ἐκένωσεν* (*made himself of no reputation*) as to a certainty proves how he understood the apostle, and whom he conceived to be the subject of his inspired assertion. "The Lord himself it was who spoke by Isaiah, he it was who spoke by Elijah, he it was who spoke by the mouth of the prophets; but if you will not believe the prophets, the Lord himself shall speak to you, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but the tenderly merciful God, desirous of man's salvation, made himself of no reputation *."

Of

* "Αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡσαΐα ὁ κύριος λαλῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν Ηλίας, ἐν σφόδρῃ προφητῶν αὐτὸς. Σὺ δὲ, ἀλλ' εἰ προφήταις μὴ πιστεύεις, αὐτὸς σοι λαλήσει ὁ κύριος, ὅς ἐν Μορφή Θεᾶ ὑπάρχων ἔχων ἀρπαγμον ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἐκένωσεν δὲ ἐκυλιν ὁ φιλοκλήμων Θεός, σῶσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον γλιχόμενον. Exhortatio ad Græcos, sive Προβλεπτικὸν Λόγος, p. 8.

My Remarker, zealous for his own two Gods, may say here that "the tenderly merciful God" is not the supreme God, but the other vicergerent God, in whose form he was; but he has already displayed his argumentative talents on a similar subject, and on John i. 1, 2, 3, has exhibited a fine specimen of his abilities; for the Word, which is there declared to have been in the beginning, to be with God, and to be God, he substitutes the name of Jesus Christ, and proceeds then to annex the epithet *supreme* to both the God with whom Jesus Christ was, and who he is, and so concludes that he has argued to an absurdity. Now the fact

is,

OF TERTULLIAN's words, which appear below, I shall give in the text that version which is contained in the

is, that the name of God stands in both assertions without any epithet to distinguish it in one from what it means in the other; and a brief mathematical rule may let this acute critic see that, by adding one and the same epithet to it in both places, he has not himself created any distinction; for it, to or from equals, we add or deduct equals, we constitute or leave the sums or remainders equal: take away therefore the word supreme from each, and leave them as they stood before without it, as no difference is made between them now from what subsisted when preceded by this addition, the whole absurdity must be laid to the charge of St. John; but as *the thing is absolutely impossible*, we shall probably hear next that *St. John could never say it*; and Mr. Jebb may once more receive "irresistible conviction into his yielding mind," in consequence of the well-conducted experiment.

The Polytheist having maintained his thesis, "that there are two Gods," with an assertion that they are distinguished in scripture by the annexation or omission of the article $\theta\varsigma$, whereby "supremacy is opposed to subordination," is desired to inform the public which of the Gods it is whom "no man hath seen at any time, $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu \epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon \pi\acute{\omega}\omega\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$," John i. 18; from which of the Gods it was that "Jesus knew he was come," $\delta\tau\iota \alpha\pi\omicron\delta \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon$, John xiii. 3; of which of the Gods "we are called, and are the sons," and to whom, on his appearance, we shall be like," $\text{ἐν} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \kappa\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\prime \nu\tilde{\nu} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\epsilon\upsilon$, 1 John iii. 1, 2? If, from the omission of the article, he answer the vicegerent, subordinate second God, I must e'en say that there can be no great impropriety in us, who are his sons, calling him "our Father," nor can the paternal character, with relation to us, exclude him from being the object of our worship under that appellation.—But if he answer, the supreme, upper God, I apprehend he must relinquish his rule.—The Polytheist is farther desired to inform the public which of the Gods it is "who hath purchased the church with his blood," $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon \tau\omicron\tau\Theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}, \tau\acute{\eta}\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\omega\sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota \delta\iota\alpha \tau\tilde{\upsilon} \text{ἰδίου} \alphaἱματός$, Acts xx. 28, that church "which is the church of the living God," $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \zeta\omega\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, 1 Tim. iii. 15. If the upper God be meant here, I doubt the Polytheist "will make but an awkward figure with his bleeding God:" he thinks so himself, and has accordingly contended for the rejection of the words $\tau\tilde{\upsilon} \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}$, but surely $\tau\tilde{\upsilon}$ would have been enough to omit, in order to reduce this passage to the system contended for; for, if I understand this man aright, Christ is not even his own $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\acute{\nu}\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\varsigma$, but the carnal man Jesus Christ is his $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, or subordinate God, whose blood was easily shed. I have little doubt that, to this end, he will wrest the following assertion of Ignatius, who speaks of the blood of God, and which I produce

the old manuscript already mentioned (p. 118): who, “whanne he was in the forme of God demyde not raveyn that himself were even to God: but he lowede himself*.”

CYPRIAN has also quoted this passage, and in no respect differs from Tertullian.—Novatian has likewise used the very same words in his version of it †. Ori-

duce as a means of establishing the received reading of the text: Μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεῷ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες, ἘΝ Αἱματὶ Θεοῦ τὸ σὺν-γενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρίσασθε, Epist. ad Ephes. The article, it is true, is not used here; but Ignatius being so unhappy as to live before the Polytheist taught Greek, did not know any thing of the new distinction, and, from mere ignorance, has so confounded with Θεὸς the ὁ Θεός, that he must come under correction for desiring to be μιμητὴν πατρὸς Θεοῦ. Of the sufferings of what God does this disciple of St. John desire to be an imitator? Of that God, ΤΟῦ Θεοῦ, who in those sufferings bled. And Jesus Christ, both God and Man, is spoken of in the text before us in that character which can give the greatest energy to the apostle's charge; for though the blood streamed from his human body, as that body was assumed by God himself, in order to render one Man a due sacrifice and propitiation for all men, the Being who suffered is here denominated by that name which was best calculated to enforce the precept.—A common news-paper, now lying before me, suggests a vulgar illustration of this subject; for I there read that a vessel, having fifty hands on board, was cast away, and every soul perished; whereas, literally told, the waters came not over a single soul, but every hand perished.—The union of God and man in Christ was a subject so familiar to the thoughts of the apostles, that, as occasion influenced, they spoke of him by either appellation: we say either body or soul of a creature compounded of both, without guarding against misapprehension, or annexing that hereby we mean a man: the Christ bleeds, God bleeds; a man is drowned, a soul has perished. We never entertain a doubt that, by the name of soul or hand, we shall be understood to mean a man.—The apostle never entertained a doubt that, by the name of God or Man, he should be understood by faithful Christians to mean the Christ.—But Christ crucified is the predicted stumbling block.

* Non rapinam existimavit esse se æqualem Deo. Tertul. adv. Praxean. cap. vii.—Non rapinam existimavit pariari Deo. Eiusdem adv. Marcionem, lib. v. cap. xx.

† Non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo. Cypriani Testimoniorum Lib. cap. xxxix; et rursus in Libro adversus Judæos, cap. xiii.

Origen, in his answer to Celsus, says that “the nature of God is altogether incorruptible, simple, uncompounded, and indivisible; that the Word which descended to man was *in the form of God*, and, through his great love for mankind, *made himself of no reputation*, that he might be comprehended by men, and yet without inducing any change of good into evil; that he who, through the Word, which is God, and which was in him, became Physician to the diseases of our souls, received not any infection from the ills he remedied: but if the Word, the immortal God, seem to Celsus to be changed and transubstantiated by having assumed a mortal body and a human soul, let him learn that the Word is still in substance the Word, and that the Word suffers none of those things which the body and the soul suffer; that, condescending to man, who is unable to look upon the light and splendour of the Godhead, he became flesh, speaking in a body, till he who received or heard him thus, being by little and little sublimed by the word, should be enabled to behold him in his original form †.” The father immediately,

† Καταβέβηκός ἐῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπαῖρχει καὶ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, ἵνα χωρηθῇναι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ. Οὐ δὴ πω δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν εἰς κακὸν γέγονεν αὐτῷ μεταβολή—ὁ δὲ τραύματι τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν θεραπεύειν διὰ τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγῳ Θεῷ, αὐτὸς πάσης κακίας ἀπαράδεκτος ἦν. Ἐῖ δὲ καὶ σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἈΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ, δοκεῖ τῷ Κέλσῳ ἀλλάττεισθαι καὶ μεταλλάττεισθαι: μανθανέτω ὅτι ὁ λόγος τῇ ἑστίᾳ μένων λόγος, ἐδὲν μὲν πάσχει ὡς πάσχει τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ. Συγκαταβαίνων δ' ἐσθ' ὅτε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ αὐτῷ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς θεϊότητος βλέπειν, οἰοεὶ σὰρξ γίνεσθαι, σωματικῶς λαλόμενος, ἕως ὁ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν παραδείξάμενος, κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπο τῷ λόγῳ μετewριζόμενος δυνηθῇ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν προηγουμένην μορφήν δεῖσασθαι. Origenis contra Celsum, lib. iv. p. 169. Edit. Cantab. Spencer, 1658, 4to.

diately; after speaking of our Lord's transfiguration on the Mount, calls him "our God §," and declares Jesus, by the union of God and man, to be at once "mortal and immortal ||," and "to be compounded in his nature of the Word, which is God, and the Soul of Jesus," between which he desires that the distinction shall always be maintained *; and this union he says that Celsus would not probably deride or detract from if he understood the scriptures; for that there he might learn the immortality of the human soul; which is united with flesh, and thence argue to at least a possibility of uniting incorruptibility to corruption †. That the Word received no pollution from having taken mortal flesh, he shews from a continuance of the same illustration, for that even the human soul is uncontaminated, and remains immortal notwithstanding its union with the body; and that the Word did not suffer any degradation, he proves from the scriptures, wherein it is often declared that he returned to the same dignity from which he had voluntarily descended. The words of St. Paul, he says, are sufficient to prove the fact, on which he quotes the passage under consideration

§ Μετεμορφώθη ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. Origenis contra Celsum, lib. iv. p. 169. Edit. Cantab. Spencer. 1658, 4to.

|| Θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον. Ibidem.

* Πρὸς τὸ το λεγοῖν ἂν, πῶς μὲν περὶ τῆς τῆ Θεῷ ΛΟΓΟΥ φύσεως ὄντος Θεοῦ, πῶς δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς. Lib. iv. ejusd. p. 171.

† Ὁυδαμῶς ἐν ὁ Κέλεσθαι οἶδε τὸ βέλημα τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων.—Εἰ δὲ ἦν ἐνοήσας τί ἀκολουθεῖ ψυχῇ ἐν αἰωνίᾳ ἐσομένη ζωῇ, καὶ τί χρὴ φρονεῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσίας αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ τῶν σχεῶν αὐτῆς. Ὁυ ἂν ἔτω διεσπρε τὸν ἀθάνατον εἰς θνητὸν ἐρχόμενον σῶμα. Ibidem.

tion from the 5th to the 9th verses inclusive †. On our Lord's ascension, we know from the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews how he was received, how restored (as it were) to the throne of God, which is for ever and ever, and to his own sceptre of righteousness: and, in the passage before us, we find an ordinance that every knee, of things in heaven and things in earth, shall bow to him. Can we then suppose that Origen understood the word ἀρπαγμα in any other sense than that of robbery? Could Origen have considered equality with the Father as transcending the claims of that Being whom he has, in an express comment on the passage, termed the immortal God, whose salutation, under that name and appointment to the dominion of the universe, he declares to be but a restoration to original glory? Origen most assuredly thought it not robbery in the Word to be equal with God.

I am not aware of any future misinterpretation, and so have not only warded off the wily and weak attacks which

† Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς λαμβάνει τις τὴν μετὰ τὴν αὐτῆς εἰς σῶμα ἐλθέσσης. Πευσόμεθα πῶς λέγει μετὰ τὴν αὐτῆς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὕψις, ὅς δίδουσι, ὁ μόνον ἐπ' ἐκείνης, ἀλλ' ὁ δὲ περὶ ἄλλης λογικῆς ψυχῆς—μηδεὶς τῶν πρότερον θανατοῦν ἐπαγγειλαμένων τοσούτον ἐδύνατο, ὅσον αὐτὴ ἐπεδείξατο δι' ἧν πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐκυσίως εἰς τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους κῆρας ὑπὲρ τῆς γένεως ἡμῶν κατεβῆσα. Τάυτα δὲ ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, πολλὰ πολλαχῶς λέγει τῶν γραφῶν. Ἀρκεῖ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ παρόντι μίαν παραδέσθαι Πάυλος λέξιν ὅπως ἔχουσιν. Τέτο φρονέειν ἐν ἡμῖν, &c. Origenis contra Celsum, lib. iv. p. 172. Edit. Cantab. Spencer. 1658, 4to.

This passage may serve to answer the horribly blasphemous question of my Remarker, proposed in the 15th page of his Addenda: "What became of the universe, and its complicated machinery, while the supreme God, *be who could not die, was dead?*" The supreme God assumed a body that was mortal, and this prepared body was our propitiation, having died for our offences.

which have been made upon this passage, but, by establishing the true and genuine meaning, hope that I have given it strength to contend for itself hereafter. Self-preservation calls on the whole Unitarian band to maintain the war against it, so I do not expect them to desist from their endeavours to overturn it. If, however, any, from conviction that they have engaged in the cause of error, shall abandon her banners, to such, the venerable father, whose faith is the present subject of enquiry, gives an assurance that they shall be received on turning from their evil ways, that no difficulty is an impediment to those who seek God; for that he who loves the Possessor of all things, can want but few; and “Christ is every where a Saviour*.” He calls upon them to pour out their whole hearts before him, for that he has compassion on those who bewail their offences; and therefore, “O man, believe on him who is Man and God; O man, believe on him who suffered; ye servants, put your trust in him who liveth, the God of your worship, and who was dead; O, all men, trust in him who alone is the God of all men; believe, and receive salvation as your reward†.” “Receive light, that you may perfectly know him to be both God and Man‡.”

He

* Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶ πανταχῶ σωτήριον. Clement. Exhort. ad. Græcos, p. 37.

† Ἐκχέλει ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς τέας καιρὸς τῆς ποιηρίας, λέγει, ἔλεει, καὶ δικαιοσύνης πληροῦ. Πίστευσον ἀνθρωπε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ, πίστευσον ἀνθρωπε τῷ παθόντι, καὶ τῷ προσκυνημένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι, πεισυσάτε οἱ δούλοι, τῷ νεκρῷ, πάντες ἀνθρώποι πεισυσάτε μονῷ τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων Θεῷ, πεισυσάτε καὶ μισθὸν λάβετε σωτήριον. Ibidem.

‡ Ἀπόλαβε σὺ τὸ φῶς, ὁφρ' εἴ γινώσκοις ἡμεῖν Θεὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρα. Ibidem, p. 39.

He invites the incredulous “to taste and see that Christ is God; faith will introduce to this knowledge; experience will teach it; the scripture, which says, “come ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord,” will instruct in it §.” He recommends it to the Greeks to have faith, and not bring all things into doubt, of which faith is the only evidence; and says, “You make it a question whether worship is to be offered up, or obedience yielded to him who is the wise God and Christ *.” And here I will annex the words of St. Chrysostom as a commentary on this passage: “If any shall object to you that you worship him who was crucified, say, with a cheerful voice and an elated countenance, I both do worship him, and shall unceasingly adore him: if then he shall laugh, do thou weep at his madness †.”

X 2

In

§ Γένεσεσδε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ἡ πίστις εἰσάξει, ἡ πείρα διδάξει, ἡ γραφὴ παιδαγωγήσῃ, “δευτε, ὦ τέκνα,” λέγεσα, “ἀκούσατε μὲν, φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς.” Pl. xxxiv. p. 32.

Here it should be remarked that Clement, having had the 34th Psalm in his eye, as appears from the quotation, probably took the form of the whole sentence from the Psalmist, who, according to the Septuagint version, which the father used, has said in the 8th verse, “Oh! taste and see, ὅτι Χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος, that the Lord is gracious or good.” This I do not think it even politick to conceal, for I am confident it would be objected to me as uncandid. I should myself have deemed the text of Clement corrupted, from Χρηστὸς to Χριστὸς, had this been the only change made; but Θεὸς being substituted for κύριος, it is carried so much farther, that I cannot now admit that it is. Allusions of this kind are very much in the spirit of the Author, who frequently expresses his sentiment in the language of the scripture with such change as is necessary to appropriate it to his own idea.

* “Εὖ θεοσεβητέον, ζητεῖτε, καὶ εἰ τῷ σοφῷ τέτῳ δὴ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ κατακολληθήτεον. Clement. Exhort. ad Græcos, p. 35.

† “Ἄν τοίνυν εἴπῃ σοι τις, τὸν ἐξευρωμένον προσκυνεῖς; εἴπω, Φαιδρᾷ τῇ Φωνῇ, γεγηθότε τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ προσκυνῶ, καὶ ἐπάυ-

In his Tract entitled the Pædagogus, divided into three books, this father has so very frequently asserted his belief in the divinity of our Redeemer, that a close pursuit of such passages as contain the professions of his faith would not only be prolix but unnecessary; I shall therefore select only a few; these also I shall lay before my reader without much regard to the order in which they appear in a work written in a stile and manner so desultory, that the author seems to have utterly disregarded order himself. In this, as in his Stromata, there is contained an immense profusion of miscellaneous learning; and though they appear without arrangement, or obvious tendency, the many noble passages that occur throughout his works make it impossible to peruse them without advantage. The classick, as well as the theological reader, must receive much information from the writings of Clement of Alexandria.

He supposes the human mind under the tuition of a Pædagogus, on whom also he confers the character of a mental physician; for such a conductor and physician, he says, we require to lead the mind to perfect health, that is, the knowledge of truth. Such a healing guide, he declares, has been given to man; and, after having told us that “he is called Jesus*,” after having enumerated the many fabulous instructors which have presided over youth, and shewn their defects, he boasts that we have one of a very superior rank; “for our Pædagogus is the holy God Jesus; the Word is the leader and conductor of all mankind; the merciful God himself

παύσομαι πότε προσκυνῶν. Καὶ γελάσῃ, δάκρυσον αὐτὸν ὅτι μαινέται. Homil. 55.—Matth. cap. xvi.—Chrysostom lived late in the fourth century.

* Καλεῖται δὲ Ἰησοῦς. Pædagogi, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 15.

himself is our Pædagogus*: he is God, the Word, the Pædagogus †;” and “this Pædagogus is the Creator of the world and of man ‡.”

“The Lord’s portion is his people, Jacob is the lot of his inheritance. He found him in a desert land, in the waste howling wilderness: he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye. As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings; so the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange God:” and yet Clement says that this conducting God was Jesus Christ, to whom the entire song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. (of which the quoted passage makes a part) is addressed. With Justin Martyr and Irenæus he agrees in acknowledging Christ the God who spoke, and covenanted with Abraham, Gen. xvii; who appeared to Jacob in a vision, and promised to be his conductor, Gen. xxviii. 15; who wrestled also with Jacob, but refused to tell his name, Gen. xxxii. 19; for, says this father, “he reserved his new name for a new and an infant people; and the Lord God was then nameless, not having been yet made Man §.” He declares him, tho’ clothed

* Ὁ δὲ ἡμεῖς Παιδαγωγὸς ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος καθηγεμὼν λόγος, αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἐστὶ Παιδαγωγὸς. Pædagogi, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 15.

† Οὐτὸς ἔστιν, ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Λόγος, ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς. Ejusd. lib. et. cap. p. 16.

‡ Οὐτὸς ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ὁ τε κόσμος, καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δημιουργός. Lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 90.

§ Ἐτήρει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινὸν τῷ λαῷ νεῷ, τῷ νηπιῷ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνονόματος ἦν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ κύριος, μετέπαυ γεγενημένος ἀνθρώπος. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 16.

clothed in flesh, to be God uncontaminated in the fashion of man || ;” that the Word, which was God in the Father, descending from the right hand of the Father, is yet God in the fashion of man : he is our likeness, and yet unpolluted *.” Hosanna, which the multitude and children in the temple cried to the Son of David, he explains to be “ light, and glory, and praise, with supplication to the Lord †.” And from himself, on naming the incarnation, and reciting from Isa. ix. 6, that “ unto us a Child is born, and that he shall be the mighty God,” he exclaims, “ O the great God, O the perfect Child ; the Son in the Father, and the Father in the Son ‡.” But this is not all ; for, in the conclusion of his Pædagogus, he prefers a formal prayer, and pays the due tribute of praise and thanksgiving to the one true God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, saying, “ We will implore the WORD : be merciful to thy children, O Pædagogus, O guiding Father, O Lord, the Son and Father both one,” “ grant that, night and day, even to the day of consummation, we may, with praises, return thanks, and laud the only Father and Son, the Son and the Father, the Son, the Pædagogus, and Teacher, together with the Holy Ghost, in all things One, in whom are all things, through whom, One, are all things, through whom is eternity, whose members we all are, whose is the

|| Θεός ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ σχήματι ἄχραντος. Pædagogi, lib. i. cap. i. p. 1.

* Λόγος Θεός ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῷ Πατρὶ σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεός. Οὐλὸς ἡμῶν ἐκὼν ἢ ἀκηλιδῶς. Ibidem.

† Φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἴνον μετ’ ἐκείνης πῶ κύριον. Lib. i. cap. v. p. 4.

‡ Ὁ τῷ μεγάλῳ Θεῷ. Ὁ τῷ τελείῳ Παιδί. Ὑιὸς ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ. Lib. i. cap. v. p. 7.

the glory and eternity. To him who is in all things good, in all things fair, in all things wise, in all things just, be glory, both now and for evermore. Amen *."

The prayer of the Psalmist, "Remember us that we are but dust, the Father paraphrases, "Have compassion towards us, for, having suffered, thou hast thyself experienced the weakness of the flesh †." He answers such as object the infliction of sorrow to the hatred of God, that this is impossible; for God saw that all his creation was good, and therefore could not hate it; that there existed nothing but by his appointment, and that what he hated, he would not appoint. "If the WORD hateth any thing, he willeth it not to be: nothing therefore exists which is hated by God, neither by the Word, for *both are one*, God; for (*the apostle*) says, In the beginning *the Word was in God*, and the Word was God ‡." On which I would have it observed that Clement, rather alluding to, than directly quoting

* Τῷ λογῷ προσευξόμεθα, ἴλαθι τοῖς σοῖς, Παιδαγωγέ, Παντοκράτωρ, Πατήρ ἡνιοχε, υἱε καὶ Πατρί, ἐν αὐτῷ, κύριε". Πάρασχε νύκτωρ μεθ' ἡμέραν, εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἡμέραν, αἰνέων εὐχαρισεῖν, αἰνεῖν τῷ μόνῳ Πατρί καὶ υἱῷ, υἱῷ καὶ Πατρί, Παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πάντα τῷ ἐνι: ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα: δι' ὃν, τὰ πάντα, ἐν: δι' ὃν τὰ αἰ: ἔ μέλη πάντες: ἔ δόξα, αἰῶνες: πάντα τῷ ἀγαθῷ, πάντα τῷ καλῷ, πάντα τῷ σοφῷ, τῷ δικαίῳ τὰ πάντα, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. *Pædagogē, lib. iii. cap. ult. p. 90.*

† Συμπάθησον ἡμῖν, ὅτι τὴν ἀσθενείαν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνίστασθως ἐπέειρασας. *Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 17.*

‡ "Εἰ τί ἄρα μισεῖ ὁ λόγος, βάλῃαι αὐτὸ μὴ εἶναι. Οὐδὲν ἄρα μισεῖται ὑπο τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ὅδε ὑπο τῷ λόγῳ, ἘΝ ΙΑΡ ἈΜΦΩ, Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ. Ὅτι εἶπεν, ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ: καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. *Ibidem.*

quoting the language of St. John, shews evidently the sense which he ascribed to the words of the evangelist. When our Lord himself declared, I and my Father are one, John x. 30, he, in like manner, maintained his position against the Jews, who charged him with making himself God, by referring to the testimony of his own works, "that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him, ver. 38: on which "they again sought to take him," considering these words as an acknowledgement of their charge, and an acquiescence in their interpretation of his former assertion.

But, against the accepted sense of this declaration, "I and my Father are one," it has been objected that, in the original Greek, the word *one* is neuter, *ἐν* not *εἷς* in the masculine gender, as if the substantive (understood) with which it should agree were *Θεός*, God; and the sentence has been accordingly declared to signify, "I and my Father are one thing," not "one God."

Now, as I do verily believe Clement, the Athenian, to have understood the Greek language, at least, as well as any modern English Unitarian, to this misinterpretation I oppose the sense in which that venerable writer, and competent judge, accepted the testimony borne by our Lord to his own unity with the Father; for, referring to our Saviour's assertion, and using the very same neuter word *ἐν*, he annexes to it *ὁ Θεός*, *God*, not indeed as the substantive with which *ἐν* agrees, or by which its gender is governed, but as the sum of the unity of the Father and the Son: that character and circumstance, in respect of which they are one. And his proposition (which I have turned very literally) amounts exactly to that great article of our faith, which I have

so frequently stated, that *Jesus Christ is one with the Father, God*. The unity of the Godhead is not the subject of the speaker, and consequently not the point contended for; but the unity of a plurality of persons in that Godhead is the object of the assertion, which therefore requires to be expressed as our Lord has expressed it; not by *ἕως*, which, if *ἑὸς* were the substantive understood, would have shifted the subject, and maintained the unity of the Godhead, but by the neuter *ἓν*, which attests the unity of Jesus Christ with the Father in that Godhead. State the two positions, and see whether I am not well warranted in what I say:

First, “I and my Father are,—one God;

Second, I and my Father are one,—God.”

It is not yet as Father or Son that they are one, for here they are distinct persons, but in a neuter character, as God. This is the meaning of the assertion as it stands, whereas a unity of person between the Father and Son would result from saying, I and my Father are one, (masculine) *unus*: but the Father is not the Son, neither is the Son the Father. In this manner of understanding and explaining our Lord's assertion Tertullian perfectly agrees; for, in language not to be turned into literal English, he says that “these three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one, (*neuter, not masculine*) in like manner as our Lord has said, I and the Father are one, (*neuter*) having regard only to the unity of substance, not to the singularness of the number” when united, either as one God, or one person *. Novatian has been already quoted (*p. 31; above*) declaring that, “from a conscious-
Y
ness

* *Qui tres (sc. Pater, Filius & Paracletus) UNUM sunt NON UNUS, quomodo dictum est Ego & Pater UNUM sumus: ad substantiæ unitatem non ad numeri singularitatem. Tertulliani adv. Praxean, lib. cap. 25.*

ness of his Godhead, Christ uttered these words, I and my Father are one." "And if Christ were only a man, what is that which he says, "I and my Father are one?" for how are the Father and I one, if Christ be not God and the Son; who seeing that he is a Son also, is therefore called one, (*neuter*);" the personal distinction which subsists on account of this character, requiring a word that shall sum up the persons in the one Godhead, not a word which should contend for an idea then foreign from the speaker's intention, the unity of God, much less an idea incongruous with the truth, an unity of person. From this declaration, the distinct personality of the Father and the Son appears to me as strongly asserted as their united Godhead; for tho' it attests the unity, it is a unity within itself, in some respect admitting of distinction; it is, according to the quaint phrase of Clement, "a Trinity indivisibly divisible, in whom dwelleth the universally superintendant power of God *."

Though the belief which the fathers entertained concerning the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ be the main object of this enquiry, I endeavour to render the work more serviceable than a meer confutation of Mr. Lindsey's position could possibly make it. As opportunity offers, I take the sense of these early Christians on controverted passages of scripture, occasionally vindicate our almost wonderfully excellent translation of the sacred writings, and rescue even the original from the most disingenuous perversion. Mr. Lindsey's assertion, that it is *absolutely necessary* the less learned should be told that the fathers of the three first cen-

* Τριὰς, μέν' ὧν ἡ παντοκράτωρ τῆ Θεῆ δύναμις, ἀμερῶς
μεγιστή. Stromat. lib. iii. p. 182.

centuries were Unitarians, has made me esteem it absolutely necessary to obviate the consequences of such a declaration; for, if a knowledge of the primitive faith be of such vast importance, it is essential to the true information of the less learned, that they shall not be left to the bare assurance of any Unitarian for it. It is for the benefit of such as are persuaded by the first part of this position (that the faith of the fathers is of so high authority) that I thus copiously bring to view the testimonies which they have themselves borne to it. For the benefit of those who, with myself, rely singly upon the word of God, I have endeavoured to develope and lay open to my fellow-creatures the true intent of that infallible testimony, upon which alone we can establish a fruitful faith in our Redeemer. If, in the discussion of any text, I shall be found guilty of error, the nature of such an enquiry imposes very narrow limits on the ill effects that might follow from it. The less learned are excluded by an unknown language from the labyrinth, in which there subsists no danger to him who is furnished with a clue. Let this, however, plead for my pardon with the honest reader. If I have erred, I am not conscious of it; and I have taken a great deal of pains to obtain information. I know there are men, under whose malevolence I shall be brought when I am most right; nay, where they most plainly see me to be right: of such I only desire that they will proceed to lay their want of candour before the public. The froth of a torrent is always proportioned to the impediment that obstructs its course. Those who only read the angry productions of Unitarians may, perhaps, impute their rage to obstructions which they could not surmount; and thus shall their invective become my panegyric.

The charge which I have already stated was brought against the text last discussed, and accompanied by

an insulting challenge to me to vindicate it if I could, together with an assurance that it has been urged a thousand times, but remains unobviated still. In the former part of this assurance Novatian agrees, for he says that Hereticks have always urged it, but that victory over them is easy. He argues pretty much, as I have stated above, that *εἰς unus* must have agreed with either *εἷς* or *Πᾶσις*, which would have been contrary to the fact, as the Father is not the Son, neither the Son the Father, but that *ἐν unum* introduced a new term, in respect of which they are both one. For my part, I think the victory is very easy; and that, had not the objection been heretofore refuted as often as brought, I have myself now sufficiently obviated it. And yet I still expect, since it has happened already a thousand times, in the words of the adage, to see the dog return to his vomit; but I will endeavour to drive him off, and put it beyond his power.

Part of the 11th, 22d, and 24th verses of the 17th chapter of St. John's gospel has been brought in proof that the declaration, "I and my Father are one," is very fully explained by our Saviour when he makes this prayer, "Holy Father, keep, through thine own name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are; that they may all be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us, that the world may know that thou hast sent me;—that they may be one, even as we are one;—that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me."

The word *one*, in each of these sentences, is neuter, which is considered as the conclusive circumstance in behalf of Unitarianism; but, on being weighed, this will appear an argument on the opposite side of the question, which Unitarians may not find it easy to sub-
vert.

vert. I have already said that, when predicated of a number, it refers them all to some one point in which they all agree. There is nothing so like concurrence as concurrence. May not our Lord, therefore, be understood to illustrate the Unity which he desires to constitute among the disciples; and again, between them and himself, by saying, Let them be one in a certain respect, even as we are one in another respect: let them be one witness, even as we are one God? Had the word *one* indeed been masculine, it would have rendered the passage unintelligible, for it must have agreed with the name of some one of the individuals prayed for; nothing else is even pretended; these were the apostles; and it would rather have been an extraordinary request to the Father so to keep Peter, Matthew, James, and John that they should all together be only one Peter, Matthew, James, or John, even as you and I are one (ἐἷς) Father or one Son. It is not so revealed. The pronoun *one* is in both cases neuter, and that term, in respect of which plurality is united, is in both cases understood. In the one case it is Godhead, or, as Clement states it, ὁ Θεός; in the other it is testimony. In support of this interpretation I desire only to have the whole 17th chapter of St. John's gospel read over with attention. Our Saviour, in two or three instances, uses illustrations similar to that suggested above: he says, "They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world:" an assertion which Unitarians themselves will not contend for in its strictly literal acceptance. Though he came from above, and was incarnate of a virgin, and became man in order to his advent into a world that was made by him, and which, nevertheless, received him not; yet, as he had separated from the world men born in it, as all the rest of the children of Adam are, he very aptly exemplifies their separation from the world by his
own

own divine distinction from it. That neither they nor he were of the world is circumstance sufficient to warrant a comparison, altho' the several respects in which they were not of the world bear no resemblance. By reading the whole chapter, the character in which our Saviour prayed, and the purpose of his prayer, will be seen. "Thou hast given him (*thy Son*) power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him;" is our Redeemer's own declaration, in which he asserts his manhood, and the gracious purpose for which he assumed it; and even declares that the power of giving eternal life had been conferred upon him; which we very well know must be spoken only of his human nature; by the sacrifice and re-assumption of which we have been made heirs of immortality. Such was the benign end of his power over all flesh; his hour was at hand, and he was now about to exert that power; but, as a testimony was necessary to a right faith in the benefits he conferred, he prefers a prayer to his Father, that he will glorify him as of old, and that he will sanctify with truth his chosen witnesses, whom he had sent into the world, that the world might believe thro' their word. The testimony of our Saviour's glory is the end; the unity of evidence is therefore the unity desired; the concurrence of God in this is demanded, for "the witness of God is greater than the witness of man." And what now so natural as a petition that, as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, even so the apostles may be, together with the Father and the Son, [who are one, God] one, witness, whereby the world shall know the Son to be the true God and eternal life; but, in the flesh, sent from God to gather together in one, all that are scattered abroad, by the assumption of our carnal nature, and by its crucifixion and resurrection, which were now just at hand, to unite all to God. To this purpose

pose we find, after our Saviour's ascension into heaven; that "the Lord gave testimony unto the word of his grace, spoken boldly by his apostles, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands," Acts xiv. 3. That "God bore them witness by signs and miracles," Heb. ii. 4; that "the apostles were labourers together with God," 1 Cor. iii. 9. As a testimony, therefore, of Jesus Christ they were all together one; and by this *unity of evidence* it is that "we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God," Ephes. iv. 13.

The context, when enquired into, hardly ever fails to vindicate the little divided and subdivided extracts which Unitarians force into their service. In the present case I have called it, I trust not in vain, to the rescue of three half-texts, in which the similitude of a detached phrase is made use of as an argument against that very truth which it was written to confirm. That the apostles are one with the Father and Son, has some resemblance to an argument on the side of Unitarianism, and seems to take away from the weight of the assertion in controversy; but when it comes to be considered that the pronoun *one* is neuter, and that they are therefore one in respect to some circumstance; when the scripture is looked into, and that circumstance found to be a *testimony*, in which all were to be concurrent as *one*; the unity of the Father and the Son remains unaffected by being called into the comparison. The passage in which it is attested remains for a separate enquiry, and must be referred to its own context for an explanation of that character, in which the Father and Son are *one*. This the reader will find in John x. to which I refer him, and now return to the venerable Father who has so largely assisted me in the foregoing discussion.

I have now produced his own declarations, that “God and Man are, one Christ,” and that “the Father and Son are one, God,” and, what necessarily implies the unity of the filial with the paternal Godhead, I have even produced his attestation, that “the only-begotten Son is THE ONLY God *,” *see p. 137 above.* I have produced a prayer preferred by him to our Redeemer; and, in addition to this, shall now exhibit that picture of St. John which this venerable writer has presented to our view; and in which we behold the beloved disciple of our Lord fallen on his knees, and with prayers imploring our Saviour to pardon and restore, by repentance, one whom the apostle had himself converted to Christianity, but who had lapsed into a vitious and dissolute course of life †. To these supplications, preferred and recorded, I have added an explicit doxology to the whole Trinity, of which this writer farther speaks, saying, “We have a treasure in earthen vessels, on all sides fortified by the power of God the Father, the blood of God the Son ‡, and the dew of the Holy Ghost §. Unless, therefore, Mr. Lindsey consent

* Ὁμογενὴς υἱὸς Θεὸς μόνος. Clement. quis dives salvabitur? cap. xxxvii.

† Ὡς ἄφεσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῷ σωτῆρι εὐρηταί. Δεόμενοι, γο-
υπέτων. Ejusdem lib, cap. xlii.

‡ Refer this expression to the note on Acts xx. 28, p. 157 above. In similar language Tertullian also writes, saying, “We are not our own, being purchased with a price: and with what a price! with the blood of God.” Non sumus nostri, sed pretio empti: Et quali pretio? sanguine Dei. Tert. ad. Uxor. lib. ii. cap. iii.

§ Θεσαυρὸν—δυνάμει Θεῷ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἀμαλῇ Θεῷ παιδὸς, καὶ δρόσῳ πνευμαλῇ ἁγίῃ περιλειχισμένον. Ejusdem libri, cap. xxxiv.

The little treatise from which these extracts have been taken is entitled Τὴς ὁ Σωζομένης Πλῆσι; It is a valuable work, and composed with more order and method than any other of the writings of Clement of Alexandria.—I omitted the title of this Treatise in p. 143 by mistake.

consent to adopt these prayers and praises into his own new liturgy, I shall pronounce his assertion abandoned so far as it relates to this father, and consider his refusal as a concession that Clement of Alexandria was not an Unitarian. But the following hymn, which is subjoined to the Pædagogus, was composed previous to the heresy of Paul of Samosata. This man refused to concur in the hymns which were sung by the church to Christ. Let Mr. Lindsey now shew wherein he differs from Paul by joining this eminent Christian in thus singing to Christ: "Gather together thy simple children holily to sing, and, without guile, to hymn with their innocent mouths Christ the leader of infants: O King of saints; O all-subduing Word of the most high Father; O thou alleviation of sorrows; O Jesus, thou eternally gracious Saviour of a mortal race; O Shepherd; O Fisher of men of every language that shall be saved, taking them from the destructive wave of a sea of evils with the bait of a life of bliss; lead us, O holy Shepherd of rational sheep, that, being filled with the dewy Spirit, we may sing together pure praises, hymns of truth to Christ the King; that, being a choir of peace, the children of Christ, a temperate people, we may, with simplicity, sing to him who is alike the mighty Child; who is alike the God of Peace *."

The

* Τῆς σὲς ἀφελῆις παῖδας ἀγειρὸν, αἰνεῖν ἀγίως, ὑμνεῖν ἀδό-
 λως, ἀνάκοις σόμασι, παίδων ἡγήτορα Χριστόν, Βασιλεῦ ἀγίων,
 λόγε πανδαμάτωρ Παῖδρος ὑψίστη, στήριγμα πόνων, αἰωνοχαρὲς
 βροτῆας γενεάς σῶτηρ Ἰησοῦ, ποιμὴν παναγὲς ποιμένης, ἀλιεῦ με-
 ρόπων τῶν σωζομένων, πελάγους κακίας κύματι ἐχθρῶ γλυκερῇ
 ζωῇ δελεάζων, ἡγὺ προβάτων λογικῶν ποιμην, ἀγιε ἡγῶ. Ἐμ-
 πιπλωμένοι πνεύματι δροσερῷ αἶνες ἀφελῆις, ὑμνος ἀτρεκέις βα-
 σιλεῖ Χριστῷ μέλωμεν ὅμω, μέλωμεν ἀπλῶς παῖδα κρατερὸν,
 χορὸς

The works of Clement are replete with similar assertions. Those, however, which I have laid before my reader, are so exceedingly particular, that they require no farther corroboration to ascertain the faith of this venerable man. Perhaps I may be thought to have extracted more than enough to this purpose, when it is considered that Mr. Lindsey has himself relinquished this father, having charged him with corrupting the simplicity of the gospel by the mixture of Gentile philosophy. *Apology*, p. 158. But let us hear his own answer to the charge, and he defines that philosophy, which I allow he has termed the schoolmaster of the Greek, as the law was the schoolmaster of the Jew to Christ, to be the very same which Solomon has described under the name of Wisdom; he declares that he does not consider the philosophy of Plato, Epicurus, or Aristotle, as true wisdom; but that, selecting so much of what every sect has held to the promotion of justice and virtue, to this alone he ascribes the name, and this he pronounces truly divine. And is it not so? and being so, what fitter guide to the truths of the gospel can be conceived, than a mind habituated to the love of every virtue? what fitter guide to the knowledge of the love of God, who laid down his life for our sake, than the cultivation of benevolence, and the love of mankind? Is it denied that the most candid dispositions are the most susceptible of the impressions

χαρὸς εἰρήνης, οἱ Χριστόγονοι, λαὸς σώφρων, ψάλλωμεν ὁμῇ Θεοῦ
εἰρήνης.

I have forbore to print this according to the measure of Clement's verse, and have omitted some images which are presented to us in the profoundest Spirit of the Bathos: for instance, he calls Christ the heavenly Wing of a flock of sheep. His sanctity and faith are all that I wish to lay before my reader; and, to the proof of these, it is by no means necessary to exhibit him in the poetical character which he so very ill sustains.

pressions of truth ; that the cultivation of such a philosophy is an irrefragable testimony of candour ; or, that the gospel is truth ? If not, wherein consists the error of Clement, who has declared philosophy, as defined by himself, to be the schoolmaster to Christ ? The evangelist is chargeable with a similar sentiment ; for, to a nobleness and generosity of mind, he imputes the readiness of the Bereans to receive the word of God.— From having received they proceeded to enquire, and upon enquiry “ many of them believed.”—

When Clement speaks of philosophy, he usually specifies the exact idea which he means to convey by the term : in the present instance, he has absolutely excluded all scholastic distinctions, and, upon a generous promotion of justice and truth alone, confers the honour of conducting to Christ. But the definition being omitted, the term *philosophy* was capable of a double meaning. God grant, therefore, that there were no double meaning in having omitted the definition.

But why is philosophy to come under Mr. Lindsey's censure ; and why is Clement charged with having deduced his ruinous tenets from philosophy ? Was not Clement an Unitarian ? and is not philosophy alone sufficient to salvation ? for the affirmative in both instances has this gentleman most strenuously contended. Let us therefore now, from a view of the whole together, see how much is to be concluded from his consistent state of facts. *A saving philosophy has betrayed to destruction an Unitarian, because it has afforded those arguments upon which this Unitarian was not an Unitarian.* See above, p. 94.

It seems then that Mr. Lindsey has discovered a great affinity between this sufficient philosophy and the faith

which he has renounced; but a later advocate of his cause finds philosophy only consistent with the renunciation of his faith. He sees nothing in it repugnant to the doctrine of “a divine commission to Christ Jesus the Son of JOSEPH and Mary.” But where has this man learned the blasphemous doctrine?—has the tenet which we embrace been brought into “*the school of Christ*” from Egypt, Greece, or Judea? No. The inspired witnesses of our glorious Redeemer have themselves related his incarnation of *a Virgin by the Holy Ghost*. “To the authority of the scriptures,” he concludes his work, “Any Christian may subscribe with safety.”—I can hardly conceive how, so long as the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke remain in the canon.

In order to accommodate this writer, I should think it necessary to retrench the authority of those two evangelists, and to rescind the epistles of St. Paul, together with several passages in other parts, of what the church of England acknowledge to be the scripture, for they contain many facts not in the least accordant to his philosophy. “To more than the scripture, no Christian,” “he says, “can be safe in his subscription.” This I should conceive must extend likewise to all that the scripture contains, beyond what the subscriber believes. For the safety of this writer, therefore, in subscribing, it is quite necessary that the scripture shall be *liberally* criticised and amended. See above, p. 115.

But what a sentence has he pronounced against those who, for the sake of preferment, have subscribed the articles of our church without belief. The sole end and purpose of his work, is to prove that these “are more than the scripture.” It is thus rendered incumbent upon all our Unitarian dignitaries to rise up against this sentence of condemnation, and shew that our articles, which they

they have subscribed, do not contain more than the scripture; or, if they accede to the judgement pronounced by their own advocate, it is recommended to them to weigh salvation against “a *livelibood* * :” and if the latter do not continue to preponderate, it is hoped they will retire from a station which they cannot occupy *with safety*. But perhaps they do not consider themselves within the description. If they thus reconcile their own conduct with propriety, it is a species of propriety with which I am unacquainted, and with which falsehood and duplicity may be very reconcileable for any thing that I know to the contrary. Morality, separated from the basis of God’s immutable word, becomes a meer Proteus, and derives a form from every caprice with which it may be combined. I can only say that the attestation of what appears a falsehood, for the sake of a temporary emolument, is not consistent with the morality of a *Christian*; or, in the language of Tertullian, NON FAS EST ULLI DE SUA RELIGIONE MENTIRI. Apol. adv. Gent. cap. xxii.

I have now brought to view the tenets of every father, and every Christian of the second century, who has transmitted an account of his own faith to us. They have severally been called upon to answer to the charge brought against them, and each has, in his own person, given an account of the tenets which he embraced concerning the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Whether, therefore, those numerous

* The work referred to is entitled, Subscription; or, Historical Extracts. The passages may be found in the 139th, 169th, and 186th pages. This author is guilty of the most flagitious calumny. Upon what authority can he say that the bishops “know to be false what they acknowledge to be true,” &c. If he has any grounds for such a charge, he should have stated them: he should have named particulars rather than have brought such a general accusation.

merous confessions of the Godhead of our Redeemer, and of the Holy Ghost, which they have made, and I have stated, can be reconciled, either with Mr. Lindsey's assertion or doctrine, I shall leave it with every unprejudiced reader to determine. For my own part, I conceive that there subsists an unsurmountable inconsistency between them, and shall therefore conclude this chapter, as I did the former, by assuming to the support of my doctrine the entire authority of that age, of which it treats; for it is evident now that Christians, for the first two hundred years after Christ, were *wholly Trinitarians*.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

*The Sentiments of the Fathers of the third Century,
together with those of some other Christian People.*

CHristianity had now greatly extended her limits, and found profelytes in almost every region of the earth. The providence of God, deducing good out of the worst purposes of man, turned even “the abomination of desolation” to the promotion of his own truth. The arms of Rome were pressed into the service of the Almighty, and, under the command of the Lord of hosts, her proud, and, what she little thought, her subaltern ambition went forth only to render the world accessible to the gospel of peace. Like the Baptist, she was sent out as an instrument to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make his paths straight; by her means every valley was exalted, and every hill and mountain was brought low; the crooked was made straight, and the rough way was made smooth for the entrance of the gospel, that all flesh might see the salvation of God.

Unconscious, nevertheless, herself of the glorious office, her heart was hardened; and, like Pharaoh, she deferred to yield obedience to the faith ’till even her own persecution had multiplied the attestations of heaven. The very blood which she shed, with a view to suppress the gospel, was rendered contributory to its progress, and erected by God into a testimony of his truth.. “She was drunk with blood,” but it was the
“ blood

“blood of the martyrs of Jesus,” which, under the immediate superintendence of heaven, triumphed over the frustrated infidelity of the oppressor, and brought over numerous profelytes to the religion of the gospel.

But all were not yet converted : the Jew still stumbled ; the Greek still derided ; and heresy, which kept pace with the advancement of truth, contributed an internal enemy to the religion of our Redeemer.

When thus extensively disseminated, and thus on every part assailed, we are not to wonder that Christianity should find so many adherents to sustain her cause, nor be offended with that air of controversy which pervades the works of those who stood up in her defence. For this, and for the enormous size to which some of their volumes have swelled, the complicated errors with which they were to contend may very well account. They never had permission to lay down their arms. The Jew, the Infidel, and the Heretick, created unremitted employment for their pens. They were engaged, not only to extend the radiance of the gospel into the realms of antient darkness, but to disperse those clouds which gathered round this source of light, and threatened to obscure, nay, to extinguish its native lustre.

I have heretofore been able to give my reader some idea of the scheme of every father, and to show the manner in which the extracts that I have stated, stood connected with the general design of the work from which I had drawn them. From the writers of the first century I have extracted a copious testimony ; of the doctrines of those who wrote in the second I have made a brief summary ; but, from the fathers of the third century, I shall content myself, and, I hope, my reader, by laying before him only a few explicit passages. It is impossible

possible that any thing which I could in reason offer to the public, should bear the most remote proportion to the works of these voluminous authors; I am therefore obliged to extract inversely as the fathers have written, and so can scarcely now do more than lay detached assertions before my reader. But here I will venture to assert that there is an inconsistency between those passages which I shall produce, as embraced by the church in this early period, and any doctrine of modern Unitarianism. I declare, from my own knowledge, that the context favours the position as I state it; but if I have not credit for this, I relinquish the assertion, and give liberty to Mr. Lindsey, or any of his adherents, to invent such a context as shall reconcile these doctrines with his tenets. For instance, how will he reconcile his own declaration, that the Son had a created commencement, with Origen's declaration, that "there never was duration when the Son was not; that, according to the flesh, indeed he was not, but, according to the spirit, he was before all things; and time was not when he was not *?" He cannot do it; for, with Irenæus, "we shew that the Son, eternally coexistent with the father, did not then commence being, when he united his substance with the workmanship of his own hands, and became a man, obnoxious to sufferings: and thus we cut off all contradiction from those who argue that, if Christ was then born, he did not exist before †."

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* Nunquam est quando Filius non fuit—secundum carnem non erat prius; secundum Spiritum verò erat ante & non erat quando non erat. Orig. Paris. Edit. tom i. p. 483, folio.—Clemens Alexandrinus has called the Son ἀναρχῶς γενομένῳ, existing or begotten without commencement.

† Otenso manifestè quod in principio verbum existens apud Deum unitum suo plasmati passibilem hominem factum. Exclufa est omnis contradictio dicentium, si ergo tunc natus, non erat ante Christus. Ostendimus enim quia non tunc cæpit Filius Dei existens semper apud Patrem. Vide supra, p. 104, 110, 121. Vide quoque, p. 17, 44, 86, &c.

The most eminent fathers of the third century are TERTULLIAN, ORIGEN, GREGORY OF NÆOCESAREA, and CYPRIAN BISHOP OF CARTHAGE. The commencement of the fourth is entitled to the names of LACTANTIUS, EUSEBIUS, and ATHANASIUS. Of these I shall speak but incidentally, for they survived the Council of Nice, in which the two latter took a leading part; but let it be likewise remembered that they lived before this famous council.

QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS was born at Carthage of Gentile parents, in whose principles he was educated; but from which, by the force of his great natural and well-cultivated understanding, he became a convert to Christianity. The second century has the honour both of his birth and conversion; but the greater part of his writings which have come down to us were composed in the beginning of the third, for which reason I chuse to refer his name to this age. He has most vigorously defended Christianity against both Gentiles, Jews, and Hereticks, and yet this champion of truth was, in the end, deceived himself by an impostor, named Montanus, whose austerity of manners deluded many Christians, and, among others, persuaded even this great man that he was the promised comforter; by which, however, he did not mean to affirm that he was the third person of the Trinity, but, interpreting the promise of our Lord as referring to one who should come and explain his word more largely to mankind, he gave himself out to be this predicted *Paraclete*. Our author, who was at this time Presbyter of Carthage, attached himself to this extraordinary person, and accordingly incurred the censure of the church, by which he was excommunicated. Henceforward we know but little of the circumstances of his life. All that is related of him

him is, that he held separate meetings with the rest of the followers of Montanus, and died in a very advanced age. He seems to have been a man of a rigid and severe temper, and to have become a convert to Montanus merely on account of his similar austerity; for the chief purpose of his writings, composed after his adherence to that impostor, is to reproach the too great levity of those, whose communion he had abandoned: with their tenets he does not seem to have instituted any quarrel. But, to avoid confusion on this head, I shall confine myself to such of his works as were written before his perversion to the errors of Montanus, and while he was considered as one of the most able defenders that ever sustained the cause of true Christianity.

I have already produced a few declarations of his faith, one particularly in the 104th page above, where I have quoted his assertion, that, in the Lord's prayer, "the Son is invoked in the Father." In his dissuasion from marriage between Christians and Gentiles, he maintains the same doctrine, and, esteeming it one of the principal inconveniencies incident to such an union, that there is no participation of worship, breaks out into the following interrogatories: "What discourse can there be concerning God? what invocation of Christ? how shall faith be sustained by reading the scriptures to each other? where is the refreshment of the Spirit *?" Whereas, on the other hand, he considers similar confidence in the salvation of Christ as the closest bond of union; for man and wife, pursuing his dictates, are always in the performance of some hu-

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* Quæ Dei mentio? quæ Christi invocatio? ubi fomenta fidei de scripturam interlectione? ubi Spiritus refrigerium? Tertulliani ad Uxorem, Lib. ii. cap. vi.

mane and benevolent action, by which they become more estimable in the eyes of each other, and take pleasure in being joint labourers to do his commandments. They are for ever chearful, not only from the approbation of their own consciences separately, but from the certainty of reciprocal approbation. Their mutual congratulations are not silent, “but psalms and hymns are heard from both, and their only contest is, who shall sing best to their God. Christ beholding such concert, and, listening, rejoices, and sends them his peace*.” In his book against the Jews, he employs many of the same arguments that I have already produced from Justin Martyr to prove the divinity of our Saviour; and, comparing the extent of Christ’s kingdom with that of the Romans, he says that their empire has bounds to it, “but the kingdom and the name of Christ are extended without limits: he is every where believed in; he is worshiped in all nations; he reigns every where; he is every where adored; he is in all places equally offered to the acceptance of all; with him there is no respect of persons; he is to all alike a King and a Judge; he is to all alike their God and Lord †.” Which latter “appellation of Lord” this father declares in another place “to be the surname (*cognomen*) of God ‡.” In his treatise on repentance, he exhorts to
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* Sonant inter duos psalmi & hymni, & mutuo provocant quis melius Deo suo canet. Talia Christus videns & audiens gaudet. His pacem suam mittit. Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. cap. ix.

† Christi autem regnum & nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, ubique regnat, ubique adoratur, omnibus ubique tribuitur æqualiter; non regis apud illum major gratia, non barbari alicujus imperiosi lætitia, non dignitatum aut natalium cujusquam discreta merita, omnibus æqualis, omnibus Rex, omnibus Judex, omnibus Deus & Dominus est. Tertul. advers. Judæos, lib. cap. vii.

‡ Augustus imperii formator ne Dominum quidem dici se volebat. Et hoc enim Dei est cognomen. Apologeticus adv. Gentes, cap. xxxviii.

mutual confession; declares that it may be beneficially made to those who will rather lament our infirmities than publish or deride them, that it may be made among friends, and at home; for “that even two together make the church; that Christ himself (*who is present*) makes the church; and when therefore you prostrate yourself at the knees of your brethren, you deal with Christ; you effectually implore Christ §.” But, as he proceeds to inculcate the persuasive powers of repentance, in calling down pardon on the penitent, fearful that he may encourage offence by shewing that there subsists such a refuge from its consequences, he corrects himself, and puts up a prayer directly to “Christ the Lord, that none may so interpret what he says, as to conceive a way opened to crimes, because there is a way open to repentance; that none may consider the redundancy of heavenly mercy as a sanction for the indulgence of headlong lusts, nor, proportioning his evils to the goodness of God, pursue forgiveness with reiterated offence ||.” I have already said that Tertullian, in general, establishes Christianity against the Jews with nearly the same arguments that Justin Martyr employed against them. Like him he argues from the prophecy in the Old, to its completion set forth in the New Testament. Some small difference, however, there subsists in the conduct of their several works, and passages of scripture have been applied to our Lord by each,

§ In uno & altero ecclesia est, ecclesia vero Christus. Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas, Christum exoras. De Pœnitentia, lib. cap. x.

|| CHRISTE DOMINE—absit ut aliquis ita interpretetur, quasi eo sibi etiam nunc pateat ad delinquendum, quia patet ad pœnitendum; & redundantia clementiæ cœlestis, libidinem faciat humanæ temeritatis. Nemo idcirco deterior sit, quia Deus melior est, totiens delinquendo, quotiens ignoscitur. Ejusdem lib. cap. vii.

each, which the other has pretermitted *. Tertullian says that the prophecy in the 72d psalm was fulfilled by the gifts made to our infant Saviour, and by the honour paid to him at Bethlehem by the wise men, “who, when they knew him, honoured him with gifts, and, believing in Christ, on their knees adored him as their God and King †.” And such is the concurrence here between the language of the father and the evangelist, that I chuse to advert to the latter, as bearing in his relation of this transaction a very explicit testimony to the Godhead of our Redeemer; for the wise men, “who fell down and worshipped the young child ‡,” were altogether, in the instance, under the conduct of heaven, which, by an extraordinary appearance, directed them first to Jerusalem, and afterwards to the house where he was laid with his mother. They went out with a purpose to obey the insidious commands of Herod, but heaven again interfered, and God warned them not to return to Jerusalem. Is it now probable that God should become their guide only to error, and that he who made them the instrument of protecting the Infant, should also, in the same action, make them the very first examples of misconception concerning him? No; and it is even evident that they had preached the divinity of our Lord to Herod before they offered up their own gifts and adoration to him; for Herod covered his destructive intentions under the mask of concurrence, and employed them to find the Infant, that

* Tertullian agrees with Justin in saying that it was Christ who spoke from the burning bush and to the patriarchs; that he pronounced judgment on our first parents, &c. &c.

† Qui cum illum cognovissent, & muneribus honorassent, & genu posito honorassent quasi Deum & Regem, sub testimonio indicis & ducis stellæ credentes videlicet in Christo. Tertul. adv. Judæos, lib. cap. ix.

‡ Καὶ πάντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. Matth. ii. 11.

that he might “come and worship him also*,” Of the Gentiles who were adopted by Christ, in whose flesh the partition wall that kept the Jews select, and divided from the rest of the children of the first Adam, was taken away, these wise men were the very first who claimed the privileges extended to mankind at large; they were taken under the immediate direction of God, and made our leaders; the first who, by the spirit of adoption, called upon Christ as their God and Father; and shall we say that God intended to propose an ill example to us, whose first fruits they were? I can never conceive it, or believe that the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles was made by the God of truth, in such a manner as instantaneously to plunge them into error, and conduct them to the idolatrous worship of a creature. With them we find Tertullian concurrent, and, with them, let us also concur, and unite in the adoration of “Christ our God and King;” for, “behold all nations henceforward emerging from the gulph of human ignorance to the Lord God the Creator, and to God his Christ †.” Yea! “the nations which have not known him, even on this day invoke Christ; and the people now run together to Christ, of whom they have been heretofore ignorant ‡.”

This father closes a comment on the Lord’s prayer, which he says, “the Son has taught us §,” with some
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* *Ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ.* Matth. ii. 8.

† *Aspice universas nationes de voragine erroris humani exinde emergentes ad Dominum Deum creatorem, & ad Deum Christum ejus.* Tertul. advers. Judæos, cap. xii.

‡ *Christum enim hodie invocant Nationes, quæ cum non sciebant, & populi hodie ad Christum confugiunt, quem retrò ignorabant.* Ejusd. lib. cap. xiv.

§ *Filius docuit,* De Orat. lib. cap. ix.

expressions of admiration at its comprehensive conciseness; "but what wonder," he corrects himself, and says, "God alone could instruct us how he would himself be addressed in prayer *;" and in like manner Origen has told us, "Christ is God; and he who adores him, should adore him in spirit and in truth. Let us therefore pray of the Lord that we may be a building, founded upon a rock, which no storm shall have power to overthrow, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ, whose is the glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen †." Here then we have the joint testimony of
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* Quid mirum? Deus solus docere potuit, ut se vellet orari. De Orat. lib. cap. ix.

† Christus est Deus: & qui adorat eum, in spiritu & veritate oportet adorare.—Oremus igitur Dominum ut simus ædificium, quod tempestas nulla subvertat, fundatum supra petram, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, cui est gloria & imperium in secula seculorum. Amen. Origen. homil. xxvi. in Luc. cap. iii.

This Doxology ends with extending our Saviour's glory to eternity; apposite to which Tertullian, who is the present subject, chides the Christians for attending at the theatres in Carthage, where they give applauses with mouths that had uttered *amen to Christ*; and declares it a pollution to use such salutations as were then customarily addressed to magistrates upon their entrance, and in which they were hailed with wishes for their eternal life, or denominated eternal. For Christians to ascribe such attributes to men, he says, is altogether a profanation, or "to ascribe eternity to any other besides Christ, who is God," *εἰς αἰῶνας* alii omnino dicere nisi Deo Christo. Tertul. de Spectaculis, lib. cap. xxv. That these words *εἰς αἰῶνας* signify eternity, the sense of antiquity demonstrates; for, when Christianity at length comprehended the imperial throne, the Emperours disallowed of the address as blasphemous, and substituted for them the word *πολυχρόνιον*, which signifies a long, but a limited time. If the former signify no more, wherein do they differ?—Who is the "Creator, who is blessed for ever?" *Τὸν κτιστὰν, ὃς ἐστὶ ἐυλογητὴς εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας*; Rom. i. 25. Shall Christ be acknowledged the Creator here, for the purpose of maintaining that these words signify a limited period? or shall they be admitted to signify eternity, because connected with the Father? Take it either way. If the first be conceded, rest here, for all that is asked for is granted; if the latter, turn back to the 28th page above, and apply the concession.

Tertullian and Origen, that our Lord and Saviour was the object of worship in the third century; and “think ye that ye can bear a different love toward the Father and the Son? As the Father, love also the Lord Jesus Christ; love the Father in the Son, the Son in the Father, with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength †.”

In the second book of his refutation of Marcion's heresy, Tertullian shews the difference between a God without passions and a God torpid with apathy. The latter, he says, is taught by the philosophers, but the former by the Christians; that the philosophers admit God to be a Judge, and yet rescind his motives to judgement, his sense of justice; but, for our part, he adds, “Who believe that God sustained a character on earth, and assumed the debasement of a human form, being clothed in flesh, for the sake of man's salvation; we differ very widely from their opinion, who deny that God takes an interest in any thing §.” The long-suffering of God, who bears with the unrighteousness of bad men, and sheds his light alike upon the just and the unjust, he says, is an example of a sort of patience too remote from us to admit of imitation. “But what was that instance which was transacted on earth, and so near as in a manner to be grasped by us? God suffers himself to be conceived in the womb of a mother;

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ther;

† Putas diversam habere posse in Patre & Filio charitatem? simul dilige Dominum Christum, dilige Patrem in Filio, Filium in Patre, ex toto corde, & ex totâ animâ, & ex tota virtute. Origen. in Luc. cap. iii. homil. xxv. tom. ii. p. 151.

§ Qui credimus Deum etiam in terris egisse & humani habitûs humilitatem suscepisse, ex causâ humani salutis, longe sumus â sententia eorum qui nolunt Deum curare quidquam. Tertul. advers. Marcionem, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

ther ;” and, while on earth, so humbled himself, and gave so many proofs of his patience and resignation, that we may find, even in God himself, an example of patience, which it is possible for us to follow *.

This assertion is surely applicable to Philipp. ii. 6, and may abet the doctrine which I have already laid down upon that passage. Refer it therefore to p. 158, *above*, together with the following declaration made by the same father: “ So God made man, in the image of God created he him, that is, in the image of Christ, for the Word is God, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God †”

In his defence of baptism against Quintilla, who contended for the taking away the use of water in that sacrament, he likens the person to be baptized to the maimed and sick who waited for the descent of the angel upon the pool of Bethesda, and the water itself used in baptism, to the waters of that pool after they had been troubled and endowed with sanative powers. And as the angel prepared this water, he says, for the cure of dis-

* Quid illa autem quæ inter homines palàm in terris quodammodo manu apprehensa est? nasci se Deus in utero patitur matris. De Patientia, lib. cap. iii.

† Fecit hominem Deus, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum, scilicet Christi, et sermo enim Deus, qui in effigie Dei, &c. Tertull. de Resurrectione Christi, lib. cap. vi.

The writer already quoted, p. 181 *above*, has carried matters a little farther than his predecessors in infidelity. He has built upon their foundation, and, not admitting even a doubt of the interpretation which he puts upon Philip. ii. 6, with unparalleled modesty declares: “ St. Paul assures us our Saviour never thought that *equality* belonged to him, or was what he had any title to assume.” p. 169. Whether I have, or have not proved that St. Paul declares the very reverse, my reader must judge. But a little hesitation might have become a man in speaking on a point at the very least doubtful: but that would have been betraying the cause.

diseases, so the water used in baptism is made ready for the washing away of offence; and being cleansed in it, we are prepared for the reception of the Holy Ghost, whose harbinger baptism is, making straight his way, as John by baptism prepared the way of the Lord in the wilderness. "But the washing away of offence is an acquisition made by faith, sealed and witnessed by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For if every word shall be established by three witnesses, how much stronger is the ratification of our hope when three divine names are set to it, when we have the same to bear witness to our faith, who have promised and engaged for our salvation in consequence of it *." The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we here find three distinct witnesses. It is true that their one Godhead is not the necessary inference from this assertion, but, to their being three witnesses, it is essential that they be acknowledged three distinct persons.

St. John has declared that there is a record whereby eternal life, an entrance into the kingdom of heaven, and adoption to be the children of God, is ensured to all who believe on him who came by water and blood, and who have a spirit bearing witness to the fertility of their faith. And of this record, he proceeds to declare that "there are three that bear it in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," 1 John v. 7.

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* *Superventuro Spiritui Sancto vias dirigit ablutione delictorum, quam fides impetrat obsignata in Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto. Nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne verbum, quanto magis, dum habemus per benedictionem eosdem arbitros fidei, quos & sponsores salutis, sufficit ad fiduciam spei nostræ etiam numerus nominum divinorum. De Baptismo, lib. cap. vi.*

The authenticity of this passage has been long contested, and the principal ground of doubt urged, is the silence of the early fathers, who have never produced it in support of the unity of the three persons in the one Godhead. But, to obviate this objection, I should conceive it a sufficient reason for their silence, to shew that the unity of the Godhead is not the primary object of the apostle's assertion; and if this appear, it will follow that the text may be authentic, though not quoted by the fathers to a purpose for which it was not written.

I urge, with the greatest humility, my own idea on this subject. The warmest advocate of the truth cannot justly be offended at an interpretation that takes away an argument on which he had not ventured to lay any great weight before; and I even hope the Unitarian may be inclined to leave it in peaceable possession of the place it now occupies, provided he find that it does not, in its first and obvious sense, declare the doctrine on account of which he has so strenuously contended for its exclusion.

Had not this work already very far exceeded my original intention, I should call many cogent arguments in behalf of the doctrine I am about to propose. As it is, I shall content myself with little more than stating it; and, for some of those reasons which tend to lead me into this opinion, must refer the reader to what I have already offered on the 17th chapter of St. John's gospel, in the 172d page above.

I have there argued from several high authorities, that when our Lord prayed that the apostles might be with himself and the Father *one*, his intention was that they might be one in testimony, one, witness; the word
one

one being in the neuter gender, and by consequence introductory of a new term, in respect of which the subject number are one.

With regard to the passage before us I entertain the same opinion: *one* is written here also in the neuter gender. The office assigned to the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, in the preceding part of the verse, is the bearing of record; their entire concurrence may, without force, therefore, be supposed the subject of the conclusion; and these three, thus bearing one record, may be said to be one, witness. One they are certainly pronounced to be, but in what is the question, for the word *one* is neuter, and consequently indefinite. The answer to this is more naturally collected from the context than sought for among truths however certain, if not so immediately within the writer's contemplation; I therefore suggest, that agreement in testimony or record is that term in respect of which "these three are one." The Complutensian edition, though the reading is not generally adopted, affords an argument in behalf of this doctrine, for it exhibits, "And these three agree in one." It is not necessary that this should be genuine, in order to prove that testimony is the point of unity. The text, as received by us, is sufficient to the purpose, and if so, lends an argument in defence of what I have already said on the 17th chapter of St. John's gospel.

If this be received, it will appear that the passage extracted from Tertullian is essentially a quotation of St. John's text; for "the Word," written by the apostle, it is true this writer has substituted "the Son;" but this makes no difference in the doctrine. That the Word is the Son no body can dispute. It follows therefore that the record of the Father, *the Son*, and the

the Holy Ghost, is the same as the record of the Father, *the Word*, and the Holy Ghost. And if Tertullian has quoted the passage, if he has only alluded to it, it may be justly inferred that the text is genuine, and that it has come from the inspired pen of the apostle.

But Tertullian, it will be said, has declared that the promises of God made to us in the sacrament of baptism, are the object of that testimony in which these three concur; so St. John, I maintain it, has done; for, to concur in record of the object to which the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost bear witness in heaven, he calls in three more witnesses in earth, "the spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three, he says, agree in one." In what do they agree? Without doubt in witnessing the covenant of baptism. To nothing else than baptism can the testimony of the *water* bear reference, for by water we are baptized; it is the visible instrument of that covenant, and hereby we are baptized into the death of Christ. His *blood*, therefore, by which, as by the blood of the Paschal Lamb, we are marked for mercy*, is made also an attesting witness; it is the blood of the new covenant, by the sprinkling of which our spirit is sanctified and made pure†: but the old covenant, which consisted in fleshly ordinances, was attested by purifications of the flesh. The new, on the contrary, is a covenant of grace, and accordingly requires the record of a pure and sanctified spirit. The *spirit*, therefore, thus purified by the blood of our propitiation, is called upon to bear record to our entrance into, and adherence to the conditions of that covenant. And now as, upon the record of *the spirit*, or a conscience purified to serve the
living

* 1 Cor. v. 7. 1 Peter i. 19. Rev. v. 9. Exod. xii. 13.

† See Heb. xiii. 12. 1 Peter i. 2. 2 Thess. ii. 13.

living God ; of *the water* wherein we are washed from our iniquities ; and of *the blood* of Christ, into which we are baptized, and by which we are made clean, we are entitled to claim those benefits that God has been pleased to annex to our repentance and faith thus attested : or, as in the words of St. Paul to the same effect, “ We have boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, and to draw near in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water,” Heb. x. 20, 22 ; so we have, as a ground of this assurance, the promises of God, on which we may rely with the fullest certainty, for he is faithful who promised ; and, of his having by covenant constituted a claim to adoption and eternal life, in as many as present themselves with a concurrent attestation of “ the spirit, the water, and the blood,” that they have become parties to, and fulfilled their part in, that contract, “ there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.”

To the Christian’s contract with God, therefore, it is that St. John has enumerated the witnesses ; and that unity which he ascribes to them, is a unity of testimony, in which the three persons stand engaged, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, for the performance of the promises of God made to man in that contract. But, in his engagement to enter into a new and an everlasting covenant with man, God has himself declared by the mouth of Ezekiel, “ Then will I sprinkle clean *water* upon you, and ye shall be clean : a new *spirit* will I put within you, and cause you to keep my statutes, and to do them ; and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more*.” But, “ without shed-

* Ezek. xxxvi. 25. See also 2 Cor. iii. 2, &c.

shedding of blood," says St. Paul, "there is no remission |||." To give force, therefore, to the covenant, and to carry, as it were, into execution this merciful act of oblivion, the blood of Christ was shed to purge our consciences to serve the living God. To authenticate, therefore, the claim of man, we take to witness a *spirit* thus purified, and "with which the Spirit of God witnesseth*," "*the water* wherein we are made clean from our filthiness †," and by the sprinkling of which, as by an instrument, we enter into the contract, together with "*the blood* of the new covenant, which was shed for many for the remission of sins ‡," and into which we are baptized §. And, under the concurrent attestation of these three, we become entitled to the adoption, to be the children of God, being "born of *water*, and of the *spirit* ||," "and by the *blood* of Christ cleansed from all unrighteousness **."

To every covenant entered into between God and man a witness was appointed. The bow was extended across the heavens as our security from future deluge: "And it shall be a token of the covenant, saith the Lord, betwixt me and you ††." Circumcision was ordained upon entering into compact with Abraham: And, "because of the circumcision of her son, Zipporah upbraided Moses with being unto her a bloody husband ‡‡." Blood was the ratification of the old covenant; for, when it was entered into, Moses sacrificed offerings unto the Lord, "and then took of the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you §§."—To the new

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||| Heb. ix. 22. Rom iii. 25.

* Rom. viii. 16.

† Ezek. xxxvi. 25.

‡ Matth. xxvi. 28. Heb. ix. 20.

§ Rom. vi. 3.

|| John iii. 5, and xiii. 8.

** 1 John i. 7.

†† Gen ix. 13.

‡‡ Exod. iv. 26.

§§ Exod. xxiv. 8.

covenant of baptism, it is therefore only analogous to his former dealings that God should ordain a testimony. By blood frequently shed for the remission of sins, the Jews obtained frequent and temporary forgivenesses; and by carnal purifications they were cleansed in the flesh, and enabled to join the congregation in the *tabernacle*. But now, to our eternal remission, the blood of Christ once shed is a sufficient sacrifice. By him our entrance into *the holiest* is ensured; but to this it is not a fleshly purification, but a clean spirit, a heart purged by his blood from an evil conscience, and engraven with the law of God, that is requisite. This law is spiritual and not of ordinances. The cleanness of the spirit, therefore, and not of the flesh, is the qualification of the contractor with God in this covenant of grace. If "our conscience, therefore, excuse" us before God, it is evident that we have not fallen away from, but adhered to our repentance and professions of faith, and reliance upon the advocacy and propitiation of Christ. And thus the spirit, and the water, and the blood are witnesses before God, maintaining our right to adoption, to an entrance into his kingdom, and to that eternal life which is in his Son, and which is evidently the object of record spoken of by St. John.

It is true that the apostle never uses the term baptism throughout his epistle; but to what else but baptism can the water so frequently mentioned by him be referred? If no other answer can be given, I should abide by baptism, the instrument of the second covenant. St. John declares that the record borne is, that God hath given us eternal life, and that we are the children of God, if we believe in his Son Jesus Christ, who came by *water* and by *blood*. The same conditions are annexed throughout the scriptures to an entrance into the baptismal covenant, wherein, by the

means of water, we are made partakers of the benefits of his blood-shedding, through faith in the sufficiency thereof. That the contract entered into by baptism, therefore, is the object of the record, I hope I have now made sufficiently evident.

Under this idea, the two controverted verses claim a place in the chapter, not as a meer parenthesis, the omission of which no way affects the tenour of the apostle's argument, but as very contributory to the doctrine which he is inculcating. If we receive the witness of men, he says, the witness of God is of higher credibility, and of his Son Jesus Christ, who has come to us by water and blood, he has borne witness, testifying that he has, in his Son, given to us eternal life. This testimony is our security, and therefore to be relied upon by all to whom Christ has come by water and by blood, and who, by hearing and yielding their faith and obedience, denote a spirit of truth. With such the new and everlasting covenant, whereof Christ is the mediator, is entered into; to them this record of eternal life is borne, and confirmed by more than human testimony; for, while on earth, there are three, that bear concurrent witness to our engagement, to confide in Christ and lead a life correspondent to his will, even the water, the blood, and the spirit; there are three that bear record in heaven to the promises of God made to us in the sacrament of baptism, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one testimony, one in record of these promises thus ratified.

Thus I interpret the passage, which is (even on admission of its authenticity) not easily intelligible in the common acceptation: the assertion seems abrupt, and not introduced by the context. But of its authenticity

I now make no doubt, and therefore endeavour to understand what I believe the apostle has written. This interpretation is not hard nor forced, and makes a sense very consistent with his entire epistle. If I have erred, I rejoice that I am not likely to induce any ill consequences by my error. The passage has been so much controverted, that it has scarce been relied on; I do not therefore take away from the evidence what has ever been considered as any considerable part of it. Let the passage quoted from Tertullian be again adverted to now, and the father will be found to speak the same sense that I have ascribed to St. John, which contributes an argument of great weight in behalf of my supposition.

How far the sacrament of baptism, ordained in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, extends to prove the divinity of those persons in whose name it is administered, is a question that does not directly come before me now. The passage which I have just quoted from Tertullian, may serve to shew what is more to my present purpose, that the primitive church yielded strict obedience to the commandment of our ascending Saviour: to this end a very competent professor of divinity in the university of Oxford has already produced it, together with many concurrent passages from the same and other early fathers. Mr. Lindsey has asserted that the necessity of entering into this covenant, in the manner prescribed by our Lord himself, was first insisted upon by the Council of Nice. How much the apologist's state of facts is to be relied upon, I refer my reader to Dr. Randolph's Vindication of the Worship of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, to learn. This reverend gentleman has confronted the practice and doctrine of the Antenicene church, transmitted by its principal pastors themselves, to Mr. Lindsey's asser-

tion. For misconception or erroneous inference the understanding alone is responsible. The errors into which weakness of intellect, or even the darkening prejudice that waits upon the ambition of leading a sect, may betray in points of doctrine, I forgive, but I cannot extend equal indulgence to a misrepresentation of plain historical facts: in these no doubts can suggest themselves, and investigation must terminate in certainty. Ignorance cannot be pleaded as an extenuation of the offence. In matters so open to enquiry, it is equally criminal to assert without, as in opposition to knowledge.

But if, after all, the reader shall judge that the 7th verse of the 5th chapter of St. John's first epistle asserts the Trinity in Unity of the Godhead, and so leave it open to the assaults of the whole Unitarian tribe, he may nevertheless find its authenticity defensible against them. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, has to a certainty quoted the latter part of it. Instead of "the Word," spoken of by St. John in the beginning, it is true he has written "the Son;" and hence it is made a question whether his assertion be more than a comment of his own upon other passages which he has quoted from the scripture. But how are the words "it is written" to be disposed of? They introduce the testimony of St. John, that "*these three are one*," and evince that Cyprian does not utter this sentence from himself, but from the apostle. The passage occurs in his Tract on the Unity of the Church, and is to this effect: "The Lord saith, "*I and my Father are one*;" and again, concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is written, "*these three are one* *."

Where

* Dicit Dominus: Ego & Pater unum sumus. Et iterum de Patre, & Filio & Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: Et hi tres unum sunt. Cypriani de Unitate Ecclesię Liber, p. 109. Edit. Oxon. per Joannem Cestriensem. 1682, folio.

Where is it so written excepting by St. John? If any where else, antecedent to Cyprian's day, another unknown Christian is subtracted from Mr. Lindsey's early Unitarians. Cyprian himself is within this gentleman's comprehensive assertion, and shall presently appear more particularly to exculpate himself from the charge.

But a farther vindication of this passage has been rendered unnecessary. The testimonies by which it is sustained have been collected, and so stated to the world by the Reverend Mr. Joseph Fisher of Drax, in Yorkshire, that I believe few who have perused his valuable work remain in doubt concerning it. To have engaged in the cause of truth has been happily productive of the most agreeable consequences to me. Her enemies have done me the honour to consider me as her friend, and I have been highly favoured with Job's blessing. Mine adversary has indeed written a book, and such a book—but calumny alone has not been my portion, the friends of truth have also done me the same honour, and I have been incidentally defended by an able combatant in her cause.

Let

It is not the testimony which is borne by these three in heaven which comes within the contemplation of Cyprian, their unity alone is his subject; but to this he could not pay exclusive attention, had he quoted the beginning of the verse *verbatim*, for herein their attestation is predicated of them. The Father, the Son or Word, and the Holy Ghost, are the subject of both propositions: Meaning therefore only to authenticate the latter, in this alone the father has adhered to the language of the apostle; but in this there is found a nominative case to the verb, which therefore precludes the necessity of extracting accurately from the former in order to find one. But as this nominative case is composed of two relative pronouns, their antecedents must therefore be set before the reader. Without bringing to view what was more than his subject, he could not have quoted the commencement of the verse. Chusing, therefore, with great judgement, to keep the reader's eye on the one object which he desires to set before it, he states, in language that continued his own argument, the subject of the assertion, and tells us that, *of the Father, &c.* it is written, these three are one.

Let the decision of this question be what it may, it is beyond a doubt that Tertullian has testified his own belief in the three persons whom he has enumerated. That he believed also the one Godhead of this Trinity I now proceed to shew.

In a Tract written against the Gentiles, he says, "We have learned that *Christ* proceeded forth from God, and was begotten by procedure, and therefore that he is called the Son of God, and God, from the unity of substance †." Here the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father is asserted as expressly as in the Nicene creed, and our author exemplifies their identity of substance by the light of the sun, which subsists in every ray that it sheds forth; for they are extensions of his substance stretched out, but not separated from him: so he says, "What goeth forth from God is God, and the Son of God, and both are one ‡," (I do not hesitate here to add) God. The word *one* is masculine, and the context requires this for the substantive, by which its gender is determined. Taking up his own idea again, the father proceeds to call our Lord "a ray of God, which, darting down upon a certain virgin, and being in her womb fashioned into flesh, was born a Man mixt with God *." And these two natures, divine and human, he desires us to keep distinct, "because it is manifest that the divine nature

is

* Iste igitur Dei radius, delapsus in virginem quandam & in utero ejus caro figurata nascitur Homo Deo mixtus. Apologeticus adversus Gentes. cap. xxi.

† Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, & prolatione generatum & idcirco Filium Dei, & Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ. Apologeticus adversus Gentes, cap. xxi.

‡ Sol erit in radio quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia sed extenditur; quod de Deo profectum est Deus est, & Dei Filius & unus ambo. Ibidem.

is immortal, when it is also evident that it is the human which is mortal, and which is to be understood when *the apostle* declares him to have been dead; that is, inasmuch as he was flesh and Man, and the Son of man, and not as he was Spirit, and the Word, and the Son of God †." "For not in his divine, but in his human substance do we pronounce him to have been dead ‡." "And when you hear him exclaim in his sufferings, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, this is the voice of the flesh and human soul, that is, of the Man; not of the Word, nor of the Spirit; that is, not of God §." "For the flesh is not God, but he who was born in the flesh is God. A double nature then we see, not confused, but united in one person, viz. God and the Man Jesus. But I speak of the Christ, and thus preserve the distinct functions of both substances. In him the Spirit performed his own operations; that is, wrought works and signs; and the flesh also in him sustained its natural sufferings ||."

This early writer, speaking of the two first persons of the Trinity, declares that "they are not two Gods, but

† Quamquam cum duæ substantiæ censeantur in Christo Jesu divina & humana, constet autem immortalem esse divinam, cum mortalem quæ humana sit, apparet, quatenus eum mortuum dicat; id est quæ carnem & Hominem & Filium hominis, non quæ Spiritum & Sermonem & Dei Filium. Adversus Praxean lib. cap. xxix.

‡ Non enim ex divinâ sed ex humanâ substantiâ mortuum dicimus. Ejusd. lib. cap. xxx.

§ Sed hæc vox carnis & animæ, id est Hominis; non Sermonis nec Spiritûs, id est non Dei. Ibidem.

|| Caro autem non Deus est; sed ille, qui in eâ natus est, Deus. Videmus duplicem statum non confusum sed conjunctum Deum & Hominem Jesum; de Christo autem disero. Et adeo salva est utriusque proprietas substantiæ, ut, & Spiritus res suas egerit in illo; i. e. virtutes & opera & signa: Et caro passiones suas sustinet. Ejusd. lib. cap. xxvii.

but that as Father and Son they are two, not by separation or division of substance, but by disposition. The Son we pronounce to be undivided and unseparated from the Father *.” But he takes a larger scope, and pronounces the very same thing concerning the inseparability of the three persons from each other: “For I do testify,” says he, “that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are undivided one from another †.” And far be it from us, he replies to Praxeas, that there should be any ground for your objection of two Gods or two Lords. “Two, indeed, as Father and Son, we define them to be, and, with the addition of the Holy Ghost, three. Two Gods, however, or two Lords, we never have named them with our mouths: not as if the Father were not God, and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and each of them God ‡.” For “I every where hold one substance in three cohering together §.”

Having cited several texts of scripture, he desires his adversary particularly to advert to the 110th Psalm, (which our Lord also has applied to himself, and so ascer-

* Dii non duo, sed quâ Pater & Filius duo, non ex separatione substantiæ, sed ex dispositione, quum individuum & inseparatum Filium a Patre pronunciamus. *Adversus Praxean*, cap. xix.

† Inseparatos ab alterutro Patrem & Filium & Spiritum testor. *Ejusd.* lib. cap. ix.

‡ “Provocabo te” (*inquit Praxeas*) “ut hodie quoque ex auctoritate istarum scripturarum constanter duos Deos & duos Dominos prædices.” (*cui Tertullianus*) Absit. Nos enim qui & tempora & causas scripturarum per Dei gratiam inspicimus, maxime paraleti non hominum discipuli, duos quidem definimus Patrem & Filium, & jam tres cum Spiritu Sancto — Duos tamen Deos & duos Dominos nunquam ex ore proferimus, non quasi non & Pater Deus, & Filius Deus, & Spiritus Sanctus Deus, & Deus unusquisque. *Ejusd.* lib. cap. xiii.

§ Ceterum ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus coherentibus. *Ejusd.* lib. cap. xii.

ascertained the propriety of Tertullian's application). For here he says, "The Holy Ghost speaks from the third person concerning the Father and the Son, The Lord said unto my Lord, &c. and these few, out of many passages," he proceeds, "may suffice; so manifestly, even in these few, is the distinction of the Trinity revealed. For it is here the Holy Ghost who speaks, the Father to whom the Holy Ghost speaks, and the Son of whom he speaks; and in like manner other things which are spoken now to the Father of the Son, now to the Son of the Father, now to the Holy Ghost, make an orderly disposition of each of the persons. If yet the number of the Trinity offend you, as not connected in simple Unity, I demand how a Being, simply one and singular, speaks plurally, Let us make man after OUR image, when he should have said, I will make man after my image, as being simply one and singular? But again, in the following instances, Behold Adam has become as one *us*, he deceives or sports when, being single, solitary, and singular, he speaks thus plurally. Now, whether did he speak to angels, as the Jews interpret, because they do not acknowledge the Son, or did he speak plurally to himself, because he was Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Yea, for this reason he has delivered himself in the plural number, (let us, OUR, and to us) because that the Son was adherent to him, the second person, his Word; and the third person also, the Holy Ghost in the Word, with whom he made man, and to whom he made man like; *with the Son, who was, in a day then future, to put on man*, and with the Holy Ghost, who was thereafter to sanctify man, he spoke from the Unity of Trinity, as with assistants and cooperators *." The

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* Animadvertite etiam Spiritum Sanctum loquentem ex tertiâ personâ de Patre & Filio. *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*—hæc pauca de multis—his itaque

father proceeds to bring more instances of the like nature as those produced, and at length argues that, as there is a God who has said, Let there be light, &c. and a God who made two great lights, you have evidently two, one speaking and the other making. "But how you ought to accept the terms one and another by the name of person, not of substance, to distinction, not to division, I have already professed †;" for, as I stated

que paucis tam manifeste distinctio Trinitatis exponitur. Est enim ipse qui pronunciat Spiritus, & Pater ad quem pronuntiat, & Filius de quo pronuntiat. Sic & cætera quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio, vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre, vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronuntiantur, unamquamque personam in suâ proprietate constituunt.

Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat Trinitatis quasi non connexæ in Unitate simplici, interrogo quomodo unicus & singularis pluraliter loquitur, "*Faciamus* hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem *nostram*," cum debuerit dixisse, "*Faciam* hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem *meam*," utpote unicus & singularis? sed & in sequentibus; "Ecce Adam factus est tanquam unus ex *nobis*," fallit aut ludit ut, cum unus, & solus, & singularis esset, numerosè loqueretur. Aut nunquid angelis loquebatur ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt, an quia ipse erat Pater, Filius, Spiritus, ideo pluralem se præstans, pluraliter sibi loquebatur? Immo, quia jam adhærebat illi Filius secunda persona, Sermo ipse; & tertia, Spiritus in Sermonem, idè pluraliter pronuntiavit, *faciamus*, & *nostram*, & *nobis*. Cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, & quibus faciebat similem, Filio quidem qui erat induiturus hominem, Spiritû verò qui erat sanctificaturus hominem, quasi cum ministris & arbitris, ex Unitate Trinitatis loquebatur. Tertull. adv. Praxean, cap. xi. and xii.

Irenæus tells us the very same thing: "Man," he says, "was formed in the likeness of God, and moulded by his hands; that is, by the Son and Holy Ghost, to whom also he said, Let *us* make man, &c. Homo—per manus ejus plasmatus est, hoc est, per Filium & Spiritum, quibus & dixit, *Faciamus*, &c.—And again, he declares of the Son that he is the same who, in the beginning, formed Adam; with whom the Father spoke, saying, Let *us* make man after *our* image; and who, in the last times, manifested himself to men." Plasmavit Adam, idem cum quo & loquebatur Pater, *Faciamus*, &c. in novissimis temporibus se ipsum manifestans hominibus. Prefat. ad lib. iv. & lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. Irenæi.

† Habes duos, alium dicentem ut fiat, alium facientem. Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas, jam professus sum, personæ non substantiæ nomine, ad distinctionem, non ad divisionem. Ibidem, cap. xii.

stated before, "I every where hold but one substance in three cohering together."

In his answer to Praxeas he makes the following profession of his faith: "We believe in one God, but under this dispensation, that this one God has a Son, his Word, who came forth from him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. We believe that he was sent by the Father to a virgin, and was born of her, Man and God, the Son of man and the Son of God, and denominated Jesus Christ; that he suffered, and was dead and buried, according to the scriptures; that he was raised again by the Father, and reassumed into heaven; that he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; that, according to his promise, he sent forth from the Father, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*." But the tenet of Praxeas, to which the Father has opposed this creed, was, that there is but one person of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "as if," says Tertullian, "while all are of one, that is, by unity of substance, one may not be all in the same manner, and the dispensation of God be nevertheless

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* Unicum quidem Deum credimus; sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *ὁμοουσίαν* dicimus ut unici Dei sit & Filius Sermo ipse, qui ex ipso processerat, per quem omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum à Patre in virginem, & ex eâ natum, Hominem & Deum, Filium hominis & Filium Dei, & cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum & sepultum secundum scripturas, resuscitatum a Patre, & in cælos resumptum sedere at dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos. Qui exinde miserit secundum promissionem suam a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, Sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum. Tertull. adv. Praxean, liber, cap. ii.

preserved, which disposes this Unity into Trinity, arranging the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost into three; three, however, not in dignity, but degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in *species*; but they are of one substance, and one dignity, and one power †.” “How they fall into number without separation,” he tells us is the subject of the treatise he is just here entering upon: in this, however, I do not mean to pursue his steps. I decline all enquiry into the *modus*. He declares that “there is one God, the Father, and besides him there is none other, which he who infers denies not the Son, but another God, for the Son is not another (God) from the Father ‡.” But “the names of the Father are, the Omnipotent God; the Most Highest; the Lord of Virtues; the King of Israel; I am; for so the scriptures teach: but we aver that these names appertain also to the Son. All things, he says himself, that the Father hath are mine: why therefore not his names? When you accordingly read these denominations, consider if the Son be not demonstrated by them to be, in his own right, God omnipotent; for he is the **WORD** of the omnipotent God, and hath received power over all.

† Unicum Deum non aliâs putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque & Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum dicat: quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia per substantiæ scilicet Unitatem; & nihilominus custodiatur *ὁμονομίας* sacramentum, quæ Unitatem in Trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum. Tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantiâ, sed formâ; nec potestate, sed specie; unius autem substantiæ, & unius statûs, & unius potestatis; quia unus Deus ex quo & gradus isti & formæ & species, in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti deputantur. Quomodo numerum sine divisione patiuntur procedentes retractatus demonstrabunt. Tertull. adv. Praxean, liber, cap. ii.

‡ Unus Deus Pater, & absque eo alius non est. Quod ipse inferens non Filium negat, sed alium Deum. Cæterum alius a Patre Filius non est. Ejusd. lib. cap. xviii.

all things. He is the Most Higheſt, for he is exalted at the right hand of God*.” And in the end he ſhews that Chriſt is, I AM, from the 8th verſe of the 1ſt chapter of the Revelation, which he applies to the Son, declaring him to be the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty. Is this language applicable to the Son, and ſhall Mr. Lindſey hope to ſubvert his omnipotence, to abridge his eternity? Does this gentleman conceive that, when with deſperate hand he has expunged the 11th verſe from this chapter, he has obliterated every testimony to the ſame effect? I am only ſolicitous to arreſt his temerity in the inſtance, for the paſſage which he would retrench from the ſacred pages is repeated ſo frequently, that it is by no means neceſſary to the proof of our Redeemer’s Godhead. The 18th verſe of the ſame chapter aſcertains the Being whom the 17th declares to be “the firſt and the laſt,” and the concluſion of the 8th verſe of the 2d chapter appropriates the commencement of it to the ſame eternal Son. But theſe very circumſtances, cries Mr. Lindſey, which appropriate, limit the ſenſe of firſt and laſt, and ſhew that they cannot mean, when applied to Chriſt, what they mean when ſpoken by God in the Old Teſtament, by the mouth of Iſaiah xlv. 6. But why not? becauſe, forſooth, he “was dead and is alive.” “He liveth and was dead?” But is it not added by our Lord himſelf, “Behold I am alive for evermore. Amen?” Theſe words are ſuppreſſed in Mr.

* *Nomen Patris: Deus Omnipotens; Altiffimus; Dominus Virtutum; Rex Israelis; qui eſt; quatenus ita ſcriptura docent. Hæc dicimus & in Filium competiſſe. Omnia, inquit, Patris, mea ſunt. Cur non & nomina? Cum ergo legis Dominum omnipotentem, &c. vide ne per hæc Filius etiam demonſtratur ſuo jure Deus omnipotens, quâ Sermo Dei omnipotentis, quâque omnem accepit poteſtatem. Altiffimus, quâ dextrâ Dei exaltatus, &c. Tertull, adv. Praxean, cap. xvii.*

Mr. Lindsey's quotation; but they are not necessary to the proof, however contributory to the overthrow of misrepresentation. That Christ is the first and the last, can bear no other sense than that in which it is usually received; and the cutting off of that body which he took and yielded up to death as a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of the whole world, gave no interruption to that life which was before all worlds, and which can never come to a determination. But if Mr. Lindsey refuse the authority of Tertullian for the establishment of the 11th verse, wherein Christ declares that, "I am alpha and omega," let him take what may perhaps have greater weight with him, the authority of Marcus and Colarbasus, two famous hereticks of the second century, who founded a system upon this verse alone, and declared that our Saviour uttered it for the singular purpose of shewing the mystical powers of the letters of the Greek alphabet.

Tertullian, and indeed all the fathers, rely very much upon the 1st verse of St. John's gospel, in which the evangelist declares that "the Word was God." Mr. Lindsey shews evident marks of the greatest distress at this direct assertion; but not being able to elude the force of it, he contends only with our translation, and desires that *the Wisdom* may be substituted for *the Word*. I am very indifferent what he substitutes, so long as the original is unchanged, and while I have his own concession that "the λόγος is not a being inferior to God." For his manner of reasoning on this head, see, who will, this gentleman's Sequel to his late Apology. I do not sufficiently comprehend his meaning to give it in my own language; and to give it in his, would be to trespass too largely on my reader's patience.

As

As some argument that the word *λογος* does not mean exactly the same thing as Wisdom, it should be observed that the early Latin fathers have uniformly translated it by *sermo*, or *verbum*, which can bear no other English term than *the Word*.

But, to leave this as it may be, let us see how Mr. Lindsey's interpretation of John i. 1, &c. contributes to his position, that Jesus Christ did not pre-exist.

In the beginning was Wisdom, and Wisdom was with God, and Wisdom was God. Now I desire to know if this "Wisdom of God, which was God," resided in the Man Jesus? whether that Being, who consisted of the Man Jesus and this Wisdom of God, had not some part pre-existent to his birth of a virgin? whether he did not consist of a mortal and commenced nature, and a nature pre-existing even from all eternity? Vary therefore the translation of the word *λογος* as you may, 'till the description and attributes of it are as much varied, they remain an unabated testimony of the Godhead of our Redeemer. *Quæcunque ergo substantia Sermonis fuit, illam dico personam & illi nomen Filii vendico.* Tertull. adv. Praxeân, cap. vii.

But it is with peculiarly ill-fortune that Mr. Lindsey has chosen to substitute the term *Wisdom* for *the Word*; for, here making an appeal from revelation (by which alone we learn the latter) to his own misunderstood judicature of reason, she readily enters into the question, and at once pronounces, that if God be eternal, so is his Wisdom; that if the Son of God be compounded of man and the Wisdom of God, he must be eternal also, and coeternal with the Father, whose

Wis-

Wisdom he is. Did the existence of God precede the Wisdom of God? was there a day in which God was not wise? It were blasphemy, as well as absurdity, to answer in the affirmative. But if the Son then be the Wisdom of the Father, there is no difficulty in conceiving the Son not preceded by the Father; and thus the coeternity of the Son with the Father is solved and rendered conceivable, nay almost intuitively entered into by the least cultivated understanding.

As he begun, so this gentleman goes on; for, not contented to have converted *the Word* into *the Wisdom*, in the English translation, through a zeal for his own opinion, somewhat too sanguine, he persuades himself that, even in the original, it stood so; or, at the least, translates himself back again into Greek, and for λόγος would substitute σοφία. This, it is true, he does not directly profess to do; but it is the best apology I can make for the remainder of his paraphrase, in which, instead of *him*, he writes, and emphatically marks the relative *her*, which it is impossible he could have done but with a view to a feminine antecedent. For “all things,” he says, “were made by *her*, and without *her* was not any thing made. In *her* was life.” One might now have hoped an end to the perversions of one passage; but Mr. Lindsey’s fertile imagination, moving on with bolder career, has supplied a nobler metamorphosis than any which adorns the pages of Ovid. That antient poet had degraded the male sex, and converted Tiresias into a woman, but it remained to our modern theologist to reverse the indignity; and accordingly, having first pronounced Wisdom a female, we find him, in his parody of the 14th verse, as peremptorily pronouncing that, *she* was made *man*; and

and this too he has done in marked characters, lest it should escape the most cursory observation *.

Mine,

* Mr. Lindsey has annexed to his last chapter "a list of passages quoted in his work, in which our English version is rectified." Among the passages which he has *rectified*, stands that which is taken notice of above. From this single specimen, the nature and method of the process might be collected; but I shall not suffer this matter to rest here, but produce some farther instances of his abilities. And when I have presented these to my reader, shall refer it to him to judge whether Mr. Lindsey and his Coadjutor have not rectified rather too highly; and whether, instead of the spirit which they profess to draw from the scriptures, they have not raised a downright alcohol, and left the scripture itself as a meer vapid residuum, incapable of yielding any nutriment to vulgar operators, and consequently improper to be set before the ordinary world. To drop this idle sport of words, I shall now produce the examples themselves. The first of the following columns contains the text as translated in our English version; the second, Mr. Lindsey's rectified translation of the same.

Over the former Mr. Lindsey has
inscribed:

Instead of,

Elias was a man subject to like
passions as we are, James v. 17.

Over the latter:

Read,

Elias was a man of like nature
to us.

The Greek word in the original is ὁμοιωθεὶς ἡμῖν. The terms of which this is compounded I need not set before the Greek reader, and the meer English one can receive no benefit from having them stated. Suffice it then to say, that it is impossible to turn this word into literal English, otherwise than as our version has done it.

Instead of,

Read,

Before Abraham was, I am,
John viii. 58.

Before Abraham was, I am *he*; that
is, the Christ, God's anointed prophet.

Supposing, in the first place, that Mr. Lindsey were right in his translation, and that *he* ought to have been added; upon what authority does he supply this copious antecedent for his supplemental relative? This is too much to admit of. First making new scripture, and then inferences from it, which could not follow, even had the word *he* been genuine. But the fact is, that there is no such pronoun in the Greek. And had such a relative been written, it must have referred to Abraham, which would have made our Lord speak absolute nonsense. Why then must it be understood? The same nonsense results. From this our version stands exempted; from this our blessed Saviour stands exempted; but Mr. Lindsey is justly chargeable with it. See Scriptural Confutation, p. 66.

Instead

Mine, however, it should have escaped; at least it should have escaped my criticism, and been passed by in

Instead of,

But, unto the Son, he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, Hebrews i. 8.

Read,

But, concerning the Son, he saith, God is thy throne for ever and ever.

The first change made here by Mr. Lindsey is of the word *unto*, for which he would substitute *concerning*. This, though in some measure introductory of the subsequent alteration, is not of so high importance. *Πρὸς τὸν υἱόν* is the Greek, which is literally turned in our version; and the meer consideration that an address to a second person (for even Mr. Lindsey acknowledges the authenticity of *thy* and *thou*) follows immediately, might obtain some allowance for the preference given to the most obvious meaning. "*To which* of the angels said he," &c. appears in the 13th verse. *Πρὸς τίνα* is the Greek: and this, though of the same construction, remains undisputed. The margin of our Bible also turns *πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους* unto the angels, verse 7, and so takes away the authority of that text from Mr. Lindsey. Indeed he could have derived but little from it, for it is followed by an assertion concerning third, not second persons. But the more material change introduced by Mr. Lindsey occurs in the latter part of the verse, where, instead of suffering an address to our Lord by the appellation of God, he makes God the subject nominative of the whole assertion, and declares him to be a throne. That God and the Lamb possess one throne, we are told in the Revelation xxii. 3, 4; (see Script. Confut. p. 171.) and that Christ sits at the right hand of God, is an assertion made in almost every page of the New Testament. But, in support of his construction, Mr. Lindsey refers to 2 Samuel vii. 13, 16, 1 Chronicles xvii. 12, 14, Psalm lxxix. 4. I desire no stronger authority for our received construction than these very passages afford, and earnestly request that they may be turned to. I should quote them, but that they are in all hands, and that the fear of prolixity restrains me. To say that God is a throne, is a bold figure, and, unless authorized, cannot be admitted. "But it is authorized," says the Unitarian, "and ὁ Θεὸς in this very passage is the nominative case." I grant that, had I a preceding nominative case to express, these are the terms I must necessarily use; but if this is the vocative case also, and the usual vocative of the Psalmist in the Septuagint version, which is here quoted by St. Paul, I apprehend it will be some argument that, in the present instance, it is also written in the vocative case. But the Grammarian tells us that the article prefixed to one, and omitted before another nominative case, when the two are united by a substantive verb, determines the subject and predicate in the proposition; for that before which it is omitted is predicated of the other: so now let us admit ὁ Θεὸς the subject nominative, and

in merited contempt, were it not necessary to set before my reader this gentleman's newly adopted stile of interpretation,

and ὁ θρονός is not a regular predicate. The very verse of which this passage makes a part, affords an example to this rule, *The sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of righteousness*. The word ῥαβδος has the article prefixed to it where it is the subject, but it is omitted before the very same word when it comes after the verb, and is made the predicate in the proposition.

Eternity or eternal existence is the predicate in the passage before us, and is hereby ascribed to the throne of God, which is evidently a subject term. But there appears in the sentence, we are told, another term, carrying similiar marks of being the subject. One of them must be dismissed from this station. With ὁ θρονός nothing can be done if ὁ Θεός be retained; but if ὁ θρονός be made the subject, it is easy to dispose of ὁ Θεός, provided only I can shew it to be the usual vocative case made use of by the Psalmist.

"Save me, O God," is the prayer with which David commences the 69th Psalm, and he proceeds to say, "O God, thou knowest my foolishness," verse 5, but "let not those that seek thee be confounded for my sake, O God of Israel." The Greek is here:

Σῶσόν με, Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ.

Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ, συ ἐγnows τὴν ἀφροσύνην μου.

Μὴ ἐντραπένησαν ἐπ' ἐμεῖ οἱ ζηῆντες σε, Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ τῆ Ἰσραήλ.

See also Psalm lxxii. 3, 5, and lxxiii. 7, 9, 28, &c. &c. &c.

But what am I about? proving that ὁ Θεός is the vocative case? There is no truth so simple but these men with whom I have to deal, relying upon the lazy acquiescence of their readers, will bring it into question, nay, flatly deny it: But I will hunt their little fallacies thro' every winding sophism; I will drag them to light, though they lurk in the darkness of falsehood. It has already been advanced by my learned Remarker that *non* is the Latin for *and*. I doubt not I shall soon be put to the proof, that *Deus* is in Latin a vocative case. See p. 169 above.

But has the Son a throne? and is the throne of the Son eternal? is it for ever and ever? Who then is that subordinate, finite, determinable Being which Mr. Lindsey asserts the Son to be? I have here his own concession that εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ αἰῶνι signifies eternal duration, even for ever and ever. It accordingly subverts his interpretation of Isaiah ix. 6. Matth. xxiv. 3, and xxviii. 20. Let Mr. Lindsey therefore now stand, not only

terpretation, assumed since his boasted connexion with Mr. Jebb; by whom, he declares, the greatest part of the

only against himself, but against his own fraternity. He acknowledges here what he denies elsewhere, and herein he contradicts the rest of his tribe. I will leave them to reconcile their own differences. It is enough for me to mark them.

Instead of,

Read,

Who shall declare his generation?
for he was cut off, &c. Isa. liii. 8.

Who shall declare his generation?
(that is, the wicked generation of men
amongst whom he lived) for he was
cut off, &c.

Indeed but it is not, and the assertion is most reprehensible. St. Paul has understood the prophet in the ordinary sense of the words, and expressly determined his meaning in Heb. vii. 3, wherein the generation of our Lord is compared to that of Melchizedek, which no man could declare. See also the manner in which Irenæus accepted this passage, p. 103 above.

Instead of,

Read,

Thy holy Child Jesus, Acts iv. 30.

Thy holy Servant Jesus.

In Hosea xi. 1, the word which we here translate Child stands in two antient Greek versions preserved by Origen. It is also the original signification of the term *παις*. Why then seek for a sense in which it is less frequently used? The Son of God is the usual appellation of our Lord; Child is only of the same amount, and, at the time of translating the Bible, was more frequently used in that sense than it is at present.

Instead of,

Read,

And because I tell you the truth,
ye believe me not, John viii. 45.

And although I tell you the truth,
ye believe me not.

—Concerning Judas, which was
guide to them that took Jesus; for
he was numbered with us, and had
obtained part of this ministry, Acts
i. 16, 17.

—Concerning Judas, which was
guide to them that took Jesus; al-
though he was numbered with us,
and had obtained part of this mini-
stry.

The word which our translation has rendered *because* and *for* in the two quoted texts, is *ὅτι*, and this Mr. Lindsey asserts, but does not prove, sometimes signifies *although*; perhaps it does, but I do not remember an instance. and I am sure Mr. Lindsey has not brought one to view. The first of the above verses makes part of a reproof, in which our Saviour tells the Jews that they are of their father the devil, "who abode not in the truth, *because* there is no truth in him." "Why do ye not understand my speech? even *because* ye cannot hear my word." Now I desire to know

the sheets of his last publication have been revised. The public prints have lately been filled with accounts of a chemical process, by which a child has been formed in France. From the laboratory of Mr. Jebb, England can exhibit to the world as great a wonder. Therein I have little doubt it is, that this miraculous transformation has been effected "after a numerous train of experiments." How much does Britain owe to this emulous assertor of her glory!

The Holy Ghost is declared by Tertullian to be "The third divine Being or Person in the Godhead; the third Name of Majesty; the Proclaimer of the Monarchy of one God; but also, if any will receive the words of his new prophecy, the Revealer of that dispensation (whereby the Trinity is derived from this Unity). He is also termed "the Guide to (or Bringer down of) all truth which is in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, according to the

know what is the necessary sense of the passage before us? Was the truth which our Lord revealed a motive for their belief, who were incapable of hearing his word, who were the children of him, in whom "there is no truth?" But let us substitute *although* throughout for *because*, and Mr. Lindsey's criticism will require no other answer. *ὅτι* is the Greek for it in every instance. That the devil abode not in the truth, *although* there was no truth in him; and that the Jews did not understand our Lord, *although* they could not hear his word. are facts and reasons which Mr. Lindsey may assert and assign, & credat Judæus.

The second instance in which Mr. Lindsey makes this arbitrary alteration commences with an assertion, that "*the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of David, spoke before concerning Judas,*" &c. (as stated); but this circumstance is withdrawn from sight: had it appeared, the absurdity glares too strongly to be passed by. The prophecy of David, referred to (Psalm xli. 9.) could only have been fulfilled by one numbered with the disciples, and who had eaten bread together with our Lord, whom he betrayed.

The examples from the Old Testament come under the same predicament, but they do not belong here to my vindication, as the Greek in which *ὅτι* appears is itself only a translation.

the Christian covenant *.” “The Son,” he says, “I deduce from no other source than the substance of the Father; the Holy Ghost from no other source than the Father by the Son †;” giving to the Holy Ghost the third rank, for “he is the third from the Father and the Son ‡.” And “of these three coherent persons,” he declares, “that, as our Lord has said, I and the Father are one, even so these three are one §.” For “the WORD was always in the Father, as he saith, I am in the Father. The WORD was with God, and was never separated from the Father, nor another (*God*) from the Father, because I and the Father are one. This assertion is the guardian of the Unity, in which we declare the Son to be extended or put forth by, but not separated from the Father. For, as the Holy Ghost teacheth, God extended or put forth his WORD as a root puts forth the stem, as a fountain the river, as the sun a ray; for these several species are the extensions of the substances from which they proceed; nor should I scruple to call any of them a son, for every commencement is a parent, and every thing that has its origin therein is a progeny; but much more the WORD of GOD, who has, even without a figure, received the name of THE SON. But as the stem is not sundered from the root, nor the river from the fountain, nor the ray from the sun, even so the Word

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* Spiritum Sanctum, tertium Nomen Divinitatis, & tertium Nomen Majestatis; unius Prædicatorem Monarchiæ, sed & œconomix interpretatorem, si quis sermonis novæ prophetiæ ejus admiserit; & Deductorem omnis veritatis quæ est in Patre, & Filio, & Spiritu Sancto secundum Christianum sacramentum. Adversus Præcean, cap. xxx.

† Filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantiâ Patris;—Spiritum non aliunde puto quam a Patre per Filium. Ejusd. lib. cap. iv,

‡ Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo & Filio. Ejusd. lib. cap. viii.

§ Vide supra, p. 169.

is not divided from God. And therefore, according to the manner of this example, I profess that I call God and his Word, the Father and his Son, two. For as the root and stem are two things, but conjoined; as the fountain and river are specifically two things, but not divided; and as the sun and ray are to appearance two things, but cohering together; it is necessary that whatsoever proceeds shall be second to that from which it proceeds, but not that it shall be therefore separate. But where there is a second, there there are two; and where a third is, there there are three; but the Holy Ghost is a third from God and the Son, as the fruit from the stem is a third from the root, a branch from the river a third from the fountain, and a gleam from the ray a third from the sun. There is yet no alienation of the effluence made from the radical source. So the Trinity, running down from the Father by well-compacted and connected degrees, in no wise opposes or militates against the monarchy of God, while at the same time it supports the state of the dispensation, by which, out of the Unity, this Trinity is derived *." For so I am always warranted

* Sermo & in Patre semper, sicut dicit, *Ego in Patre*, Johan. xiv. 10. Et apud Deum semper, sicut scriptum est, *Et Sermo erat apud Deum*, Johan. i. 1. Et nunquam separatus a Patre; aut alius a Patre; quia, *Ego & Pater unum sumus*, John x. 30. Hæc erit *probola veritatis*, custos Unitatis, quâ prolatum, dicimus Filium â Patre, sed non separatum. Protulit enim Deus Sermonem, quemadmodum etiam paracletus docet, sicut radix fruticem, & fons fluvium, & sol radium. Nam & istæ species probolæ sunt earum substantiarum ex quibus prodeunt. Nec dubitaverim filium dicere & radicis, fruticem; & fontis, fluvium; & solis, radium; quia omnis origo Parens est; & omne, quod ex origine profertur, progenies est: multo magis Sermo Dei, qui etiam propriè nomen Filii accepit. Nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius â fonte, nec radix a sole discernitur, sicut nec a Deo Sermo. Igitur secundum horum exemplorum formam, profiteor me duos dicere, Deum & Sermonem ejus, Patrem & Filium ipsius. Nam & radix & frutex duæ res sunt, sed conjunctæ. Et fons & flumen duæ species sunt, sed indivisa. Et sol & radius duæ formæ sunt,

ranted to translate the word *ὁμοουσία*, as the author in whom it now occurs has himself given his own definition of it †.

It is a common subject of declamatory complaint among Unitarians, that the Jews and even the Gentiles are excluded from conformity with the Christian church, on account of the doctrine of the Trinity. The truths of Christianity, it was foretold, should be to the Jew a stumbling-block, and to the Greek foolishness. Had all, therefore, immediately conformed upon

sunt, sed cohærentes. Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus, necesse est, de quo prodit; non ideo tamen est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est duo sunt. Et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius autem est Spiritus a Deo & Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice. Et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine. Et tertius a sole apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, à quâ proprietates ducit. Ita Trinitas, per consertos & connexos gradus a Patre decurrens, & monarchiæ nihil obstrepit & *ὁμοουσίας* statum protegit. Tertullian. advers. Praxean, lib. cap. viii.

I have selected this passage, not for the sake of our author's illustration, as rendering the subject in the least degree more conceivable by our faculties, but because he has so very explicitly declared his belief in the consubstantiality of the three persons, and also attested that "the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son," was a tenet in the beginning of the third century. The word *probola* in the first instance I have not translated; I chose rather to sink the absurdities of his adversary from whom he takes up the phrase. It means something of the same nature as the word *emissio* of the Gnostics, with which Irenæus has already been produced in contest. Such language frequently encumbers the style of the fathers, and renders them extremely difficult to turn into English. Add to this, that Tertullian was an African, and not equally skilled in the elegancies of the Latin tongue as his countryman Terence had been. There is nevertheless an air of stern dignity in what he writes, that engages the attention, and makes it for the most part not disagreeable to labour for his meaning. An infinite deal of good sense, joined to as much sanguine sincerity, seem to form the character of the man. To the latter we must ascribe his strange revolt and adherence to a sanctified plausible impostor.

† Vide supra, p. 135 and p. 212.

upon the promulgation of the gospel, universal assent would have argued to the reverse of what it is usually thought to support, and been an irrefragable evidence of falsehood. But if this doctrine were the ground of Jewish opposition, what withheld the concurrence of the Jew during the first three centuries, when “all the fathers and other Christian people were generally Unitarians?” Did the Jew alone find a Trinity among the Christians, of which they were themselves ignorant? Unquestionably they did, if Mr. Lindsey’s position be true, and that by the Trinity alone the Jew is excluded. But that the Christians were also in the secret, Tertullian lets us know, and informs us that Mr. Lindsey is right in declaring the Trinity the grand point of difference between the followers of the law and of the gospel; for he tells us that “it is an article of the Jewish faith, so to believe in one God as not to reckon the Son to him, and after the Son the Holy Ghost; and what difference,” he demands, “does there subsist between us excepting this? What is the office of the gospel? what the substance of the New Testament, which establisheth the law and the prophets until John; if not, that from thence these three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are to be believed to be one God †?”

But uniformity is so much the object of Mr. Lindsey’s heart, that he cares not much in what doctrines men unite, provided only the Trinity and Godhead of

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† *Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere ut Filium adnumerare ei nolis, (Praxean alloquitur), et post Filium, Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos & illos, nisi differentia ista? Quod opus evangelii, quæ est substantia Novi Testamenti, statuens legem & prophetas usque ad Johannem, si non exinde Pater & Filius & Spiritus tres crediti unum Deum sistant?* Tertull. adv. Praxean, cap. xxxi.

our Saviour be excluded. He does not find the Jew of opinion that the New Testament is in all points the same as the Old; and so, rather than persuade the Jew that there is a superiority in the subsequent revelation, by which the law was set aside, he thinks it better to compound matters, and frustrate the providence of God, "who took away the first that he might establish the second." And instead of inviting the Jew to embrace the unpolluted truth, would taint and corrupt her, or trick out a substitute, who with easy compliance shall consult his taste; and rather than not possess, bribe him by a conformity with whatever he requires: but the Jew requires that the gospel shall be the same as the law; and be it so, says Mr. Lindsey, rather than that the Jew and I should differ. Since he refuses to be a Christian, why, I will go over to him and become a Jew myself.—In effect he has done so. But why this rage for uniformity? Is it consistent with his desertion of every Christian society yet formed? He abandons a church that subsists, for no other reason than that it contains within it that common bond of union, without which no society can subsist; a government by laws agreed upon by its own members, or rather bye-laws made under and with due reference to the great incorporating charter, the gospel: and having gone out from her, connects himself with all those who have heretofore professed enmity against her. He lays strait siege, and summons the fortress, commanding us to pull down every barrier that now entrenches us to their exclusion, and to unite ourselves with those who are without. How can that be? with whom are we to unite? Men who disclaim all society. For such, I will maintain, are they who would take away all authority of legislature from a society. Without it no society can subsist. But our Lord has commanded us to associate; in other terms, he has appointed a church.

Is the church then of so very different a nature from every other association of mankind, that, in this alone, concurrence and compliance will spontaneously arise? Do men universally agree in their interpretation of the scriptures, that all shall associate under the gospel only? or do all who call themselves Christians promulgate the gospel to all? Experience shews the necessity of laws, even for the purpose of making the great law known. And were we to pause here, because that all who read deduced the same articles of belief from the gospel, yet even to this it is necessary that we act as a society, and hold up the scripture as the common point of concurrence to all who will associate.

But however desirable universal agreement may be, is the scripture interpreted alike by all? If not, the acceptance of the gospel alone is too vague, of too extensive comprehension to admit of this as the only point of association. Experience has instructed here again, and shewed us that some mode of interpretation must be agreed upon in order to form a society; for with the Protestant of the church of England it is not possible to unite the Papist: they must for ever differ. Is the Christian church therefore dissolved? No; nor is it possible that, if all agreed in doctrine, all could form one church. To form a church is nevertheless the duty of all who look up to Christ as their head; but when Christ commanded us to form a church, he did not prohibit the only means by which that church could, in the ordinary course of nature, subsist. He commanded us to associate, but did not forbid the means of maintaining our association. Unless there be then within ourselves an executive power to put his laws into execution, a legislature subordinate to his great statute, which is our charter, we must necessarily fall asunder; that is, we must, from a defect incident

to our obedience, fall into a direct disobedience of the commandment which we make an effort to obey. Has Christ himself sowed this seed of sin? I cannot believe it, and therefore conclude that, when our Lord has testified his will that we should become a society, he has also implied his desire that we should use the ordinary means of rendering a permanent obedience to his command, and maintaining that associated state which he has appointed.

But far be it from me to say that, because it is our duty to associate and to require conformity of all who desire to profess themselves members of our society; far be it from me, I say, for this reason, to require that men shall enter into that society of which I am a member. To insist upon this is to violate the right of private judgement; and so long as there is a diversity of opinions among Christians, and societies formed respectively professing these diverse tenets, let every man be free to chuse his mates: but to associate is his duty, and that once performed, necessity will oblige him to establish rules for the preservation of his society; to fix upon certain exclusive circumstances that shall describe, nay, define his society, and without a conformity to which, no man can be said to have enrolled himself a member. I speak upon a supposition that I address myself only to Christians, for Christians only are under an impression of this duty of forming themselves into a church. Such as disclaim the scriptures, disclaim the commandments contained in them. But when I renounce the right of forcing men to associate with me, I maintain the right of so describing my own society, that the description shall exclude all who do not come within it. I may reduce to writing that description; and before I admit to any emoluments altogether in my own disposal, may require an attestation
of

of conformity with the sentiments therein set down, and, upon compliance or refusal, may give or retain what it is altogether in my own power either to impart or withhold. This attestation given, assures me of a concurrence in sentiment with me, and induces my bounty; refused, it only leaves the party where he had been before, and I, by withholding, exercise only my own undisputed right. I inflict no injury whatsoever.

But the society is desirous of promulgating its tenets for its enlargement, or, for the confirmation of its members, of having them enforced; for, carrying these purposes into execution, the utmost circumspection becomes requisite in the choice of teachers. And before a man be appointed to the office of an instructor, it is absolutely necessary that the society shall be apprized of his concurrence in sentiment with themselves. He may otherwise deceive them, and frustrate the end of his appointment. I desire to know if Mr. Lindsey would resign his rostrum to Dr. Randolph? Most certainly he would not; it would pervert the principles of his auditors. Would he depute a person, altogether unknown, to the office of instructing in his synagogue? Most certainly he would not; he might sow tares among Mr. Lindsey's good seed. Mr. Lindsey would know the principles of his deputy before he appointed him, and reject the candidate who refused to explain.

Of what greater crime does Mr. Lindsey accuse the church of England, which is but a religious association of the same individuals, who, in a civil association, form the state? As a church, opinions and doctrines belong to them; as a state, they are possessed of property and power: as a church, they seek to promulgate

gate and fix their own tenets; as a state, they annex those emoluments which are absolutely in their disposal to the promulgation of those tenets. But the society is too great to admit of an universal personal knowledge of every individual who is willing to assume the function of an instructor; and therefore, for the purpose of introducing him to the acquaintance of those who have the power of appointing him, he is required to give an attestation of his principles, and to certify his concurrence with the society from whom he seeks an appointment, together with the emoluments annexed to a due discharge of the office desired. Herein no greater authority is exerted than Mr. Lindsey himself would exert even in his private capacity. The means of coming at a knowledge of the person to be entrusted, it is true, are different; but the reason is, that the same could not answer in both cases.

The establishment of a church is the legal annexation of certain emoluments to the clerical function in that church exclusively. But to exclude from these appropriated advantages is not to oppress. The description to which they are annexed is very definitive. If men will have them, let them come within the description; but if, for the sake of those emoluments, any man shall set his hand to an assurance that he concurs, at his own peril be the deed. If, having, for such a fordid freight, made shipwreck of a good conscience, he drag about a wretched existence, let him not charge his miseries to those who required to know whom they were about to trust. They only have a right to complain who have been betrayed by an attested falsehood; and as the case actually stands, matters should be reversed. The nation has been defrauded by a number of men who have, under false pretences, obtained that livelihood which was by law appropriated

to the maintenance of such as promoted doctrines which they now impugn. The grievance is not theirs but the nation's; and parliament, instead of receiving an humble petition to quiet their consciences, should appear at the Feathers before them as suitors for the redress of grievances, and restoration of all those temporalities which they hold in prejudice of honest men. Had subscription been rendered a requisite after possession had been given without it, and had a refusal to subscribe been followed by the resumption of what had been conferred without such conditions, rights vested were then disturbed, and ex post facto terms were justly complained of as a severe imposition; but whoever has subscribed that he believes what he has had opportunity of enquiring into, and yet neglected, and in his heart knows that he does not believe, deserves not only to incur a forfeiture of such advantages as his fraud had procured for him, but literally merits an additional punishment. The infliction here would not be oppression. The conditions were open to his previous consideration, and upon that faith which he has violated, he has obtained advantages. Shall he profit by his wrong? shall fraud be admitted as a plea for indulgence? Let them quiet, let them satisfy their own consciences, let them relinquish the emoluments of falsehood and be at ease. Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Jebb have shewn them the means of shaking off the burden, and Mr. Jebb declares that he is restored to that serenity of mind, to which he had been long a stranger. I sincerely rejoice that he is so, but it was hardly kind in Mr. Jebb to give into my hands an argument so very powerful against his former associates. I urge it again and again, that Mr. Jebb has unburdened his conscience and is happy. And the confutation of this argument I expect to receive from those to whom I direct it at Carlisle, Cleveland, Black-Nottly, and the Feathers.

To the honest dissenter, who has never subscribed, I do not direct it; with him I hold no quarrel, but, on the contrary, wish from my heart that our legislature would extend a toleration as large as would be consistent with the liberal spirit of our church. Let no legal provision, however, be made for him; keep that exclusively our own; even the dissenter will find his advantage in it. To constitute a legal claim favours of establishment.

Let it be observed that, in all I have said upon this subject now, I have held in my own mind a distinction which should ever be preserved; for there are not two subjects of enquiry more distinct than the establishment of a church, and the verity of the religion to be established. To the former only I have confined myself in this digression; the latter is the main subject of the work; and it is with great delight and gratitude that I see the providence of God, whilst he has led us to establish a church, with his own right hand plant the truth within it. To guard and cultivate this is the main duty of our existence here. It is the tree of life, whereof we may very safely pronounce that they have not gathered, who, by falsehood, obtain an entrance into the enclosure. At the same time I cannot say that there subsists a similar reason for their exclusion from tasting the fruit thereof, as occasioned a prohibition to our common progenitor. It does not in the least appear that they have ever tasted of the fruit of the tree of knowledge.

But, cry these men, it is not the truth which is professed in the church of England, God is therein believed to be incomprehensible and his nature inscrutable; whereas the scriptures contain no such difficult doctrine, all things are there laid plain and level to the under-

understanding, and such as no man can dissent from. If so, then I ask how it has happened that Lord Bolingbroke could not accede to them? It was not our establishment that excluded him, it was upon an examination of the inspired word itself that he dissented: he found a Trinity revealed, and therefore rejected revelation. Is not this their own process? Deism was his creed, and it is theirs. But it is our articles that exclude the Mahometan and the Jew, and not the unpolluted gospel. What! did the Mufti ever peruse our articles? what Jew Rabbi has taken them under his consideration? They may indeed have looked into the sacred word itself. Some among them probably have done so. They have there found a Trinity revealed, and therefore rejected revelation. A Trinity then they acknowledge to be the exclusion of the Jew and of the Greek. If therefore the Trinity be that ground of predicted derision to the one, and that peculiar article of the Christian profession over which the other stumbles, it is allowed by these its adversaries to be "the Wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation." I speak upon a supposition that they do not dispute the scripture premises in the instance, for such are the terms in which St. Paul proceeds to describe the grand obstacle to Jewish and Heathen conversion. Is the Trinity that obstacle? To the Trinity then, I do assert, it is that the residue of the apostle's assertion is applicable. See Rom. i. 16. 1 Cor. i. 18, 23, 24.

But Christianity is not of that comprehensive nature of which Unitarians want religion to be. The truth therefore is, that they want another religion which is not Christianity; and since the Jew, the Turk, and the Heathen Infidel cannot accede to the religion of the gospel, they are determined to reject such inflexible

doctrines, and fabricate a religion of a more complying temper. To Christianity, as it stands founded, they see that Mahomet will not come; they see that it is in vain to cry, "Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord," Isaiah ii. 3. They would therefore reverse the antient proverb, and oblige the mountain to come to Mahomet.

Nor is the name of Mahomet idly introduced, nor is it without a proof that the Unitarian has expressly ranked himself under his bloody crescent. Has "God raised your Mahomet to defend the faith with *the sword*, as a scourge on the *idolizing* Christians?" Yes, and that too "in conjunction with the Unitarian brethren, who have in all ages been exercised with their pens to defend the faith of one supreme God without personalities." Such is the language of Unitarians themselves. They bring down the sword of Mahomet upon the worshippers of the Son and Holy Ghost, I might indeed add of the Father also, for "whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father," 1 John ii. 23. And in their proposal of an alliance with all good Mussulmans to this great end, they assert that they do it "for the vindication of your law-maker's glory." And as a motive to the east to wage this holy war, and no doubt make reprisals upon this western world for the crusades of former days, they declare an intention "to lay down in what articles *we, the Unitarian Christians* (of all others) do solely concur with *you Mahometans*, to which we draw nigher in these important points than all other Protestant or Papal Christians. With *our* additional arguments to *yours*; to prove that both *we* and *you* have unavoidable grounds from scripture and reason to dissent from *other Christians* in such verities." They pronounce themselves "*your fellow-champions* for these truths,"

truths," and acknowledge Mahomet, for whose glory they are so very zealous, to have been "a preacher of the gospel." It is true this language has not been used by any existing Unitarian, but Mr. Lindsey has trumpeted forth the panegyrick of those who did use it, which is in a manner acceding to and subscribing it himself.

The reader's curiosity is probably raised at assertions so very extraordinary, at an acknowledgement of the prophet of the Mussulman so very explicit. When satisfied, surprize will succeed. The extracts given are drawn from an address actually presented, A. D. 1682, by the Unitarians "to his illustrious excellency *Ameth Ben Ameth*, embassador of the mighty Emperor of Fez and Morocco to Charles II. King of Great Britain *." Mr. Firmin, one of Mr. Lindsey's great authorities, was then living, and a leading man among this sect. Fearful lest the whole Christian church should *paganize*, he was desirous of constituting Unitarian assemblies for divine worship, distinct from the assemblies of any other denomination of Christians †. The temper

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of

* Mr. Leslie, formerly chancellor of the cathedral of Connor in Ireland, in his "Socinian Controversie discussed, in six dialogues, &c." has preserved and transmitted this singular testimony of Unitarian Mahometanism entire. To him, therefore, I refer the reader for further information. And to such as are desirous of examining the state of the present controversy in the last century, I earnestly recommend the perusal of this work. Mr. Leslie's masterly pen had overturned, and for a season kept down the pernicious doctrines which again raise up their heads. He so effectually subverted them, that his own work ceased to be consulted. Like a skilful physician he restored the constitution, so as to have rendered his medicine no longer necessary; and thus a work has fallen into oblivion, merely because of its excellence. The Complaint has however now returned, and should again make us have recourse to the means of a second recovery.

† See Apology, p. 197.

of such assemblies may be very well understood from this specimen of the doctrines embraced by *the fraternity*, and we may fairly conclude that they were not designed to have been held distinct from the assemblies of the followers of Mahomet. To these, therefore, it is that Mr. Lindsey throws open the gates of the church, but against us who receive the gospel without the commentary of the Alcoran, he would shut his mosque; and, as a stronger security for our exclusion, give us perhaps to understand that “God has raised up Mahomet to defend the faith *with the sword*, as a scourge on idolizing Christians.”

I have throughout, because I think meer words but a trifling ground of difference, admitted Mr. Lindsey and his sect to call themselves Unitarians. But as it seems to throw a charge of polytheism upon all who differ from them, I now deny their exclusive right to this denomination: we also are Unitarians who worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost in the unity of the one Godhead. We believe “the Father and the Son to be God, and both to be one;” we believe “the Holy Ghost to be God;” and though proceeding not separated, Spirit of Spirit, God of God, a third in degree numerically, but not in dignity †. I have professed already that the Father is the only one God*, and now declare that “I profess Christ to be the only God, according to the apostle’s assertion; that of the Jews, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, WHO IS OVER ALL GOD BLESSED FOR EVER †.”

But

† De Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus, modulo alternum numerum gradu non statu fecit, & a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Tertull. Apologet. cap. xxi. Vide supra, p. 206 and 208.

* Vide supra, p. 211, & propè passim.

† Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus, ex quibus

But this is not all, for I do not mean to rest contented with a joint possession of this title, I demand the entire resignation of it to us exclusively. Nothing less than the absolute renunciation will satisfy me. Shall they who concur with the Jew, “who crucified the Lord of glory,” and with the Mussulman, to whom the name of our Redeemer is an abomination, make pretensions to the title of Christians? shall they pretend that they worship the Father, and are therefore Unitarians? Our Lord himself shall put them down, who says, “He that hateth me, hateth my Father also,” John xv, 23.

I have drawn from Tertullian so ample a profession of his faith in the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and

quibus Christus inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne, Tertull. adv. Praxean, cap. xiii.

Refer this passage to p. 31, wherein the authorities upon which our translation of Romans ix. 5, is supported, are stated. In p. 109 there is a quotation of this verse with the context of Origen: this also carry back, together with the following from Eusebius.—In the year 303, a city of the Christians in Phrygia was destroyed under Dioclesian. The Soldiers surrounded it, and casting in fire, consumed the town and “burned all the inhabitants, with their children and wives, while they were calling upon Christ the God over all.” Κατέφληξαν αὐτοὺς, ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναῖξι, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοωμένους. Eusebii Eccl. Hist. lib. viii. cap. xi.—After the numerous authorities already produced in proof of the genuineness of this text, these may be thought unnecessary; but I chose to remind my reader that Origen has made use of it, and grounded the divinity of our Lord upon it, because Mr. Lindsey has been pleased to assert that “Origen calls it rashness (which, as Dr. Clarke observes, he would not have done if he had thought it to be the doctrine of St. Paul) to suppose Christ to be *the God over all*.” Sequel to Apol. p. 204. Concerning Eusebius also, he has made a similar assertion, but, as usual, without referring to the author spoken of. The best answer I can give, is an example to the contrary, taken from each of the misrepresented fathers themselves.—Refer this passage also to p. 176 and 137 above, where Christ is acknowledged by Clemens Alexandrinus, as here by Tertullian, to be “the only God.”

and Holy Ghost, that no doubt can possibly remain now that this first of the Latin fathers was not an Unitarian. He has not only acknowledged the Unity of three persons, but has actually combined them under the one denomination of *the Trinity*: the belief of Tertullian in the Trinity is therefore in no wise problematical. Clemens Alexandrinus has also been seen to have employed this term. From which circumstances I would deduce, not the faith of these fathers only, but that farther, tho' less important conclusion, that the word *trinity* was in general use in their day. These two writers, tho' younger men and survivors of Theophilus of Antioch, were actually in part cotemporaries with that father. (See p. 125 above). To him it does not appear that either of them has ever adverted; from him therefore it seems highly improbable that either of them derived the term; and consequently it is highly improbable that Theophilus, although he certainly be the earliest writer who has transmitted it to us, was himself the original inventor of the word *trinity* *. We find it used within a very brief space of time by the three distant churches of Syria, Egypt, and Carthage; and let it even be admitted that it was then of recent invention, of thus much we are certain, that it was considered by the whole church as an apt and significant expression, for it was universally adopted

* The objection to this term *trinity*, that *it was invented to explain the doctrine*, is among the other logical inaccuracies of my Remarker. I should have humbly thought that the doctrine was rather explanatory of the term. I desire to know what doctrines are *explained* by the terms decad, myriad, ogdoad, biduum, and triduum? I will not accept of an explanation of these terms for my answer. A reduction to the constituent units which are combined, and the sum of which is expressed by an aggregate noun, may give the meaning of that noun. No, says my Remarker, that very noun of number is invented to explain the constituent units.—On this principle alone I desire of him to answer my question. (See Remarks on Script. Conf. preface, p. 13.)

ed as soon as formed, and, by all the succeeding writers, whose works have descended to us, applied to a doctrine explicitly inculcated by all their predecessors.

As I have already showed that some passages from the fathers have been either misrepresented or falsely translated by Mr. Lindsey, I shall close this enquiry into the faith of Tertullian, by rescuing that venerable writer also from similar ill treatment. In the 87th page of the Sequel to his Apology, Mr. Lindsey has given the following translation of the passage, which appears in the note: “Again and again we avow—— that we worship God through Christ. Suppose him a man, *if you please*. It is by him and through him that we have been brought to know and worship God. *For* we may reply to the Jews that they have been taught to worship God by or through the man Moses *.”

In

* *Dicimus & palam dicimus, & vobis torquentibus lacerati & cruenti vociferamur: Deum colimus per Christum. Illum hominem putate, per eum & in eo se cognosci vult Deus & coli. Ut autem Judæis respondeamus & ipsi Deum per hominem Moysen colere didicerant. Tertull. Apol. adv. Gent. cap. xxi.*—Thus far Mr. Lindsey, but with the omission of those words which are printed here in Italicks, and with a change of the pointing throughout, for I have compared him with three editions. Tertullian goes on thus: “*Ut Græcis occurram Orpheus Pieriæ, Musæus Athenis, &c. initiationibus hominēs obligaverunt. Ut ad vos quoque, dominatores gentium, adspiciam, homo fuit Pompilius Numa, qui Romanos operosissimis superstitionibus oneravit. Licuerit & Christo commentari divinitatem rem propriam; non qui rupices & adhuc feros homines multitudine tot numinum demerendorum attonitos efficiendo ad humanitatem temperaret quod Numa; sed qui jam expolitos & ipsā urbanitate deceptos in agnitionem veritatis ocularet. Quærite ergo si vera est ista divinitas Christi.*—The original of the whole chapter, which is here abridged, would be too long to transcribe. The brief extracts which I have made here, and in p. 206 above, sufficiently answer my purpose, which is to shew that Tertullian gives no countenance whatsoever to Mr. Lindsey’s doctrine, but on the contrary opposes it with even an angry vehemence.

In the first place, it is obvious that the translation is not just. It is not said in the original, that “by him and through him we have been brought to know and worship God,” (which is here ascribed to the Father, that it may square with what is afterwards said of Moses) but “that it is the will of God to be known and worshipped through him and in him.” In the second place, it is obvious that Mr. Lindsey was aware of this inaccuracy, and that, contrary to custom, he has consulted the context which he has wilfully violated; for the little addition which he has made to the word “*suppose him a man,*” is an internal proof that he rightly understood his author. In the very chapter whence this passage is taken, Tertullian has laid it down as a fundamental article of the Christian faith, that the Christ is both God and man. (*See the assertion quoted above, p. 206.*) But of this, he says, the Jews are ignorant; for that, believing in but one appearance of Christ, they understand not that advent which has been already fulfilled *in the humility of the fashion of a man*, but look only to his second coming, in which he shall appear *in the sublimity of his exerted Godhead*. But yet it has followed, that while they considered him only as a Man, they were obliged to account for his power by considering him as a Magician; and because of the many miracles which he performed (*and which the father recounts*) they dragged him to death upon the cross, from whence he arose and ascended into heaven, of which we have much better evidence than your Proculuses can give of the Apotheosis of Romulus; for Christ himself, after his resurrection, appointed his witnesses, and sent them forth to preach throughout the whole world. Pilate too, in his conscience convinced of Christianity, related all those things to Tiberius; and the disciples, scattered through the world, obeyed the command of God their master, and chearfully suffering

fering many things from the persecuting Jews for the confidence of the truth, have at length, under the ferocious cruelty of Nero, sowed the Christian blood at Rome: here then the father, moved at the recollection of this dreadful carnage, makes a challenge to meet both Jew and Gentile, each on his own ground. His religion he declares he will not abjure, nor by denial transfer his worship from its proper object, "For we again and again avow it; gashed and reeking we shout it in the cars of our tormentors, that we worship God through Christ: admit him a man; it is the will of God to be known and worshipped through him and in him; but that we may reply to the Jews, even they learned to worship God by (or from) a man, Moses. That I may meet the Greeks, Orpheus, Melampus, and others, who were but men, initiated them in their religion; and that I may now advert to you, O ye lords of the Gentiles, Numa Pompilius, who loaded the Romans with the most burdensome superstitions, was but a man also. Let it then be permitted to Christ to discourse of that Godhead which is his own; to Christ, who does not like Numa humanize the savage by the false terror of numerous absurd deities; but opens the eyes of such as are already polished, and lays the truth before those who have been deceived, even by their own refinements. Enquire ye therefore into the truth of Christ's divinity." So that we find here the manhood of Christ admitted by the father, for the single end of obviating such objections to him (as author of a religion) as were grounded upon that manhood, and to shew that neither Jew nor Greek had a right to object a human teacher (supposing him no more) to the Christians, having themselves received their respective religions from instructors who did not lay claim to any superior character.

But who has denied that Christ was a man? do we? or if we profess his perfect manhood, are we therefore Unitarians and deniers of his Godhead? I am so little afraid of the charge, that I do profess myself to believe that he not only was, but that he is at this hour a Man; I believe that he was not only the sacrifice and propitiation for my sins, but that, till my suit is obtained, he is my sacerdotal advocate; that he is an High Priest over the house of God so long as there remains a single votary to lay his hand upon the altar, and, with reliance upon the sufficiency of his blood, to plead the merits of his Redeemer as a compensation for his own transgressions. Our own exalted poet has made the Father address the Son in terms to which I am willing to subscribe; they are grounded on the language of the scripture; St. Paul, in his epistle to the Philippians, ii. 5, 6, 7, 8, has authorized the use of them.

“because in thee
 “Love hath abounded more than glory abounds,
 “Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
 “With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
 “Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign
 “Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man.”

PARADISE LOST, b. iii. v. 314.

And that he is the one, in no respect controverts his being the other; and reason does not “decide with mathematical and intuitive certainty, that the Athanasian doctrine is not true,” Remarks, p. 76. Right reason knows her own province; she knows herself; and when she looks for a conclusion, she seeks for it from proper premises. “Rash confidence leads to a reliance on ourselves, but the fear of infirmity warns us to take refuge in the help of God; it even influenced the Lord himself “to go a little farther, and to fall on his face and pray, Mat. xxvi.

39. He therefore began to be sorrowful, according to his human nature, which was subject to such passions, but not according to his divine excellence, which is far removed from every such passion. And these things we say concerning Jesus that you should not, like some heresies, think him to have been (*only*) a man, but that God had assumed the perfect nature of the human body, in which he could have a fellow-feeling of our infirmities, inasmuch as he was himself encompassed by the infirmities natural to the human body*.”

The early fathers, when they spoke of Christ's human nature, usually brought to recollection his Godhead, as they say themselves, through fear of misleading

* “Incauta confidentia ad jactantiam ducit, timor autem infirmitatis ad auxilium Dei confugere adhortatur, sicut & Dominum ipsum paululum progredi, & cadere in faciem, & orare. Ergo cæpit quidem tristari secundum humanam naturam quæ talibus passionibus subdita est, non autem secundum divinam virtutem quæ ab hujusmodi passione longe remota est. Et hæc dicimus de Jesu, ut non arbitreris, sicut quædam hæreses, hominem eum fuisse, sed Deum veram humani corporis suscepisse naturam, quî poterat compati infirmitatibus nostris, quoniam & ipse circumdatus erat infirmâ naturâ humani corporis.” Origen. tom. ii. p. 115. C. In Mattheum Tractatus 35, Parisiis, 1574, fol. a Gilberto Genebrando.—There is a remarkable passage in this Tractate, in which the writer says, that Peter denied his Master thro' too much reliance upon his own strength, whereas he might have been supported if, when our Lord said, “This night ye shall all be offended because of me,” Matth. xxvi. 31, he had addressed a prayer to Christ, and said, “If all are offended because of thee, be thou in me that I be not offended; and especially grant me this grace, that, in the time when all thy disciples shall suffer offence, I may not fall into a denial of thee.” Et si omnes scandalizati fuerint in te, esto in me, ut non ego scandalizer; & dona mihi præcipuè gratiam hanc, ut in tempore cum omnes discipuli tui fuerint scandalum passi, ego in denegationem non cadam. Ibid. p. 114. The doctrine of prayer to our Saviour is sufficiently laid down here to mark Origen's idea of it, and to shew that, if ever he entertained the opposite tenet, as Mr. Lindsey declares, he did not uniformly entertain it, and consequently that his authority can avail the Unitarian but little.—But of this more hereafter.

ing the world into an idea that he was only man. But the antient Jew and the modern Unitarian alike suppress every testimony which the Christian cautiously bore to the divinity of our Lord, and “the vulgar are now taught to know Christ as some ordinary man, on whom the Jews had pronounced judgement, that they may the more easily be brought to think us the worshippers of a man. We are not, however, yet ashamed of Christ, nay, we even delight in contempt and condemnation for his name’s sake, neither do we entertain any other conception of God *.”

The eventful life and peculiar character of ORIGENES ADAMANTIUS, Presbyter of Alexandria, would afford a copious subject to the biographer. A few selected circumstances may be sufficient for my purpose, which is only to shew that the author, whose faith is enquired into, is a fit subject of enquiry, and that he comes altogether within the limits of Mr. Lindsey’s description. When we read, we are naturally desirous of knowing who the writer is, and how esteemed. This I have all along stated, and, to the extracts which I have drawn from each of the fathers, have, for my reader’s satisfaction, prefixed some brief account of the father from whom I have drawn them.

ORIGEN was born at Alexandria, A. D. 185. At the age of seventeen years he had the misfortune to lose his father, who cheerfully laid down his life in maintenance of that religion, in the true principles of which

* Sed & vulgus jam scit Christum ut aliquem hominum, qualem Judæi judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit. Verum neque de Christo erubescimus, quum sub nomine ejus deputari & damnari juvat neque de Deo aliter presumimus. Tertul. Apol. adv. Gentes, cap. xxi.

which he had brought up his son. We are told of this venerable martyr that he was indefatigable in the business of his son's education. In his very infancy he instructed him in the religion of the gospel, and obeyed "the commandment of God, given to our fathers, that they should make known his laws to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children that should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God," Psalm lxxviii. 5*.

The

* The discharge of this duty, imposed by God himself, is what Mr. Lindsey and his fraternity esteem a criminal act in such as acquit themselves of it. To controvert the express commandments of God is altogether consistent with a contradiction given to the revelation of God; and such as determine to make their own little intellect the criterion of what he reveals and enjoins, are very likely both contumaciously to contradict and disobey him. But to have learned in infancy, is to have come under the influence of prejudices; and when arrived at man's estate, the only proof we can give of having a mind free from these prejudices, is to reject whatever we have learned. What! though true? No matter whether true or false. An attachment to truth, if it had been early instilled, is *mean and superstitious*. By the abdication of early principles alone our honesty can become approved. To adhere to them upon examination has a very suspicious appearance. And tho' truth were the first to make an impression on our infant minds, the only mark of liberality and freedom of spirit is to reject her in manhood, and take the opposite falsehood as her substitute. This is the sum total of Mr. Lindsey's doctrine on this subject, but by him delivered in language which I confess I did not expect to see him employ. That something like it should flow from the ribbald pen of my Remarker never surprized me. It was consistent with the whole of his work. But a certain dull decency, which had pervaded Mr. Lindsey's former pages, promised that his censure should at least be liberal. I am not however deterred from repeating the substance of what I said before. The doctrines which I maintain, I learned very early; and I again bless God for having consigned me to parents who, in dutiful obedience to his commands, instructed me in his word. Had I been the son of Mr. Lindsey, I might indeed have had an opportunity of proving my candour by the subsequent rejection of every tenet my infancy should have imbibed from him; but do I prove it less by an adherence to what I have learned? I adhere to, as had I found them false, I should have

The good effects of this happy commencement attended Origen through life. In one respect alone we find him depart from the counsels of this competent instructor. An understanding almost premature had given Leonidas an opportunity of seeing that his son too much consulted imagination in his manner of interpreting the holy scriptures. Against this he warned him, and desired him to rest contented with the plain and obvious meaning of the words*. It had been happy for Origen had he attended to this sensible admonition; for whatever errors, or even seeming self-contradictions, he has fallen into, appear to have had their source in a passion for refinement. He finds an allegory couched in the simplest assertion, and his fancy sometimes erects a superstructure upon such a foundation, as his own judgement, if consulted, must have pronounced altogether inadequate to the burden which he has imposed.

A writer of this cast, it is evident, must have created much opposition and even enmity to himself. No doctrine could absolutely claim the authority of his concurrence; for, let him maintain a position, there was yet something to be found in the extensive compass of his writings which seemed, or was capable of being wrested till it seemed to favour the contrary opinion. By such a circumstance

have rejected, the lessons of my youth. Among them there was one which has occasioned my continuance in the rest; this is, never to take any thing implicitly, nor without strict examination. It is due to this that I have first read and next refuted Mr. Lindsey; it is due to this that I have referred his quotations to the authors quoted, and throughout detected misrepresentation, and even found assertions ascribed to writers the very reverse of which have proceeded from their own pens.

* In one instance, indeed, Origen too scrupulously adhered to the letter of the scripture. He lived, however, to repent and censure his practical comment on Matthew xix. 12.

circumstance his authority is unquestionably diminished; and for this reason I shall the less copiously adduce it.

And yet it is sufficiently obvious, upon the whole, what doctrine preponderates: he has himself confessed and apologized for such assertions as were capable of misrepresentation: he even declares that Hereticks had interpolated his volumes. The nature of those assertions for which he apologizes, and of the interpolation of which he complains, demonstrate what the doctrine is which he renounces. But, throughout his works, there does not once appear a single retraction of those numerous professions which he has made of his faith in our Saviour's Godhead, and of the one substance of the three persons in the divine Unity: I say, therefore, it is sufficiently obvious, upon the whole, what the doctrine is which he retains. Besides this, he is explicit on one side of the question; whereas, upon the other, it is not without the greatest violence of misrepresentation that he can be brought to say any thing that even seems to favour it. He has likewise had the good fortune to find an apologist in Pamphilus, who was himself a martyr, and who has vindicated the memory and writings of Origen from that calumny, which we cannot wonder should attend upon such a writer.—But of Pamphilus hereafter.

As a man, Origen seems to have possessed the most amiable disposition, and to have been in practice truly a Christian. During the confinement of Leonidas, previous to his martyrdom, this worthy young man threw himself into the prison where he lay detained; and here, not only abetted his father's resolution to meet his approaching end with courage and constancy, but, by the most explicit avowal of his own faith in Jesus Christ, even sought to provoke the murderers

derers of his parent to bestow, what he esteemed an equally glorious triumph, upon himself: from this pursuit, however, he was with much difficulty dissuaded. The life of Origen was of the greatest consequence to a family, just about to be deprived of a father. He was the eldest of seven sons, and on him the rest depended for their support. These considerations were strongly urged by a tender mother, and under their influence the amiable youth complied with his mother's intreaties. Fearful, however, lest Leonidas might feel their force, and redeem his life by apostacy, he wrote and fortified him by the following caution, which has been preserved to us by Eusebius: "Beware, my father, that you relinquish not your faith for our sake*."

So very eminent was Origen for his understanding and improvement in Christian knowledge, that, at the early age of eighteen years, he was appointed to the instruction of Catechumens, at Alexandria; and so very ably did he discharge this important trust, that multitudes, who received their knowledge of the gospel from his mouth, were not only baptized with water, but, as he expresses it himself, sustained "a baptism by fire" for the sake of their Redeemer.

It is nevertheless recorded of him, that he was not at all times ready to undergo this baptism himself. But this charge, resting upon a fact which is in the highest degree improbable, becomes itself so very much so, that, with the best writers on the subject, I am of opinion it ought to be set aside; and the more so, when it is considered that, under Decius, in the year 250, he sustained the most cruel torture without the smallest

* "Ἐπεχε· μὴ δι' ἡμῶν ἄλλο τι φρονήσης. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. cap. ii. p. 258.

concession. Not to take away life, was the order to the executioner; and the reason assigned, because there must be an end of torment. He survived this cruelty about four years, and, A. D. 254, died a natural death at the age of seventy years.

As a writer he is beyond all conception voluminous. Not less than six thousand treatises are said to have proceeded from his inexhaustible pen; of these a considerable portion have escaped the wreck of time. His style is very various, in general diffusive and verbose, yet, when engaged in controversy, and kept to his point by an adversary, sufficiently close and sententious. There is one circumstance, however, which greatly reconciles us to his wire-drawn pages; throughout the whole, his own excellent character is very conspicuous. It is true he has attenuated and spread out every idea to a surprizing thinness and extent. They are yet in themselves highly estimable, and ductility is the criterion of gold.

I have already produced many passages from this father. The adoration of our Lord is recommended by him in page 192 above; in the 141st page he has avowed his belief in the one substance of the three persons in the Unity of the Godhead; and in page 161, 185, has borne his testimony to the united Godhead and Manhood in the person of our Saviour.

In regard to the first of these particulars, if Origen has any where delivered a contrary doctrine, I will leave it to Mr. Lindsey to reconcile it with what is already stated on this head, and to shew how a precept not to pray to Christ is in any wise consistent with the following declaration; a declaration connected with an extract made by Mr. Lindsey himself, and which might have let this gentleman see that, when Origen says,

“The honour we pay to Jesus is appointed by God, namely, that all men should honour the Son as they honour the Father,” Apol. p. 8, the writer does not mean to inculcate the opposite doctrine, namely, that all men should honour the Son in a degree inferior to, and consequently different from that in which they honour the Father.

Celsus, an heathen philosopher, had written an invective against Christianity; and to this Origen returned an answer, which is deservedly preferred to any other of his writings. Celsus has objected to the Christians the worship of our Lord, adding, “If they worshipped only one God, and no other, then should they have some reason to object polytheism to others; but now they pay the most exalted honours, which are due to God alone, to this Upstart of to-day, and think they sin not against God, because it is his Minister who is worshipped.” “But to this,” says Origen, “it is easily replied; for if Celsus understood that declaration of our Lord, “I and my Father are one,” John x. 30, or that clause in his prayer, “Even as we are one,” John xvii. 21, he would not have conceived that we worship any other besides God, the Lord of the universe; for he says, “The Father is in me, and I am in the Father,” John x. 38. But if, from not reconciling seeming inconsistencies, any shall object that, by acknowledging the unity of the Father and the Son, we betake ourselves to those who deny that the Father and the Son are two, persons; let him aid his conception how *the Father and I are one*, by reflecting upon the assertion, that “in the multitude there was but one heart and one mind,” Acts iv. 32. As we have stated it, then we worship one God, the Father and the Son; and we remain possessed of our objection to polytheists:

we do not pay those honours, which are due to God alone, to an upstart of to-day, nor to one who has not heretofore existed, for we believe him who has said, "Before Abraham was, I am *," John viii. 58; who has also said, "I am the truth," John xiv. 6. "We adore then the Father of truth and the Son who is truth as one; who in person is two, but in consent of mind and identity of will, one †."

"But Celsus affirms that, if we sing hymns to the sun and to Minerva, we worship the great God. But we know to the contrary; for we sing hymns to God alone, who is over all, and to his only begotten Son, God the Word; and with us the sun, the moon, the stars,

I i 2

* Refer this to the note, p. 217 above. That Origen considered this verse as a declaration of our Lord's preexistent state is evident. Origen understood Greek as well as Mr. Lindsey, and better than my Remarkers.

† 'Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲνα ἄλλον θεράπευον ἔτοι πλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, &c. a Celfo, cui respondet Origenes: Ασκήτων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῆτο, ὅτι, ἕπερ νεοῖκεν ὁ Κέλσος, τὸ, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Παῖς ἐν ἑσμεν. Καὶ τὸ ἐν εὐχῇ εἰρημένον, ἵνα τὸ εἶς τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τῷ, ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐν ἑσμεν, ἐκ ἂν ῥέο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλον θεράπευειν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν. Ὁ γὰρ Παῖς, φησὶν, ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πατρί. 'Εἰ δὲ τίς ἐκ τῶτων περισυασθήσει, μὴ πῇ ἀγνοοῦμεν πρὸς τῆς ἀναιρέας δύο εἶναι ὑποστάσεις, Πατέρα καὶ υἱόν: ἐπισησάτω τῷ, ἣν δὲ πάντων τῶν πισυσαμένων ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, ἵνα θεωρήσῃ τὸ, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Παῖς ἐν ἑσμεν. Ἐνα ἔν Θεόν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν θεράπευομεν. Καὶ μένει ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τῆς ἄλλης ἀτεινὲς λόγος. Καὶ ἔ τῶν ἐναγχοῦ γε φανέντα, ὡς πρότερον ἐκ οὐρα ὑπερδρασκεύομεν: αὐτῷ γὰρ περὶ δόμῃ τῷ ἐπὶ οὐρί, πρὶν Ἀβραάμ γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ ἐμὶ καὶ λέγοντι, ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ ἀλήθεια. — Ὁρῶσιν οὖν ἐν τῷ Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐρα δύο τῷ ὑποστάσει πράγματι, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐνοσίᾳ καὶ τῇ συμφωρίᾳ, καὶ τῇ πανέτι τῷ θελήματι. Origen, contra Celsum, lib. viii. p. 285. Edit. Cantab. Spencer, 1658, 4^{to}.

and all the heavenly host unite their voices, and sing praises to God and his Only-begotten †." From God, who is light, the sun, and every luminary of heaven, derives his splendor. "Now, as the worshippers of the sun, the moon, and the stars, do not adore a spark of fire, or a candle's blaze upon earth, seeing the incomparable superiority of those objects which they esteem worthy of adoration; so those who understand that God is light; those who admit that "the Son of God is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," John i. 9; those who receive that saying, "I am the light of the world," John viii. 12, must, by parity of reasoning, contemplate the sun, the moon, and the stars, when compared to the God of true light, who is light, as little sparks of fire, and by consequence they must withhold their adoration from them *."

In one of his homilies on the Old Testament, this father, shewing the superiority of the gospel to the law, declares

† Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον ἴσμεν. Ἰμῶδες γὰρ εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι λεγόμενον Θεόν, καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτῷ, Θεὸν λόγον. Καὶ ὑμᾶς μὲν γε Θεόν, καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ ἡλιος, καὶ σελήνη, καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐραγία σφαίρα. Origen contra Celsum, p. 422.

* Καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ, διὰ τὸ φῶς αἰσθητὸν καὶ ἐράγιον εἶναι, προσκυνῶντες ἡλίον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ ἄστρα, ἐκ ἂν προσκυνήσαιεν σπινθήρα πυρὸς, ἢ λύχον ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρῶντες τὴν ἀσύγκριτον ὑπεροχὴν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀξίων προσκυνεῖσθαι παρὰ τὸ τῶν σπινθήρων καὶ τῶν λύχων φῶς. Οὕτως οἱ νοήσαντες, πῶς ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ: κατὰ λαθεύοντες δὲ, πῶς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ φῶς ἀληθινὸν ἐστίν, ὁ φοβῆται πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Συνεπὶ δὲ καὶ, πῶς ἐτός φῶς τὸ, ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Ὅτε ἂν ἐυλόγως προσκυνήσαιεν τὸν οἰομένον βραχὺν σπινθήρα, ὥς πρὸς φῶς τὸν Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν φῶς, ἐν ἡλίῳ, καὶ σελήνῃ, καὶ ἄστροις. Origen contra Celsum, p. 238.

declares that the latter ought not to be accepted in a literal sense, for that it is not possible God should have pleasure in such distributions of the sacrifice as are appointed in Leviticus vii. or that his favour could ever depend upon the use of ovens or frying-pans. "But not so," he adds, "have the children of the church learned Christ, not so have they been instructed in him by the apostles, that they should entertain such low and derogatory notions of the Lord of Majesty. Let us then, according to the spiritual discernment which the Spirit giveth to the church, rather see what is that sacrifice which is baked in the oven, and what the true interpretation of the oven itself. But where shall I have such access to the holy scripture as may teach me what is that oven? I will implore my Lord Jesus that, seeking, he may make me to find; that, knocking, he may open to me, Matth. vii. 7; and that I may discover what that oven is, wherein I shall bake the sacrifice which God may accept*." He then proceeds to allegorize the whole ordinance, and declares that the oven is the heart of man, that obedience shall be his sacrifice, &c. I have produced this passage, (and I might produce thousands to the same effect) only because it exhibits the writer at prayer to Christ.

Thus

* "Sed non ita ecclesiæ pueri Christum didicerunt, nec ita in eum per apostolos eruditi sunt, ut de Domino majestatis aliquid tam humile & tam vile suscipiant. Quin potius secundum spiritalem sensum, quem Spiritus donat ecclesiæ, videamus quod sit istud sacrificium, quod coquatur in clibano, vel quis iste clibanus intelligi debeat. Sed ubi inveniam modo ad subitum scripturam divinam, quæ me doceat quis sit clibanus? Dominum meum Jesum invocare oportet, ut quærentem me faciat invenire, & pulsanti aperiatur, ut inveniam in scripturis clibanum ubi possim coquere sacrificium meum ut suscipiat illud Deus." — Cor ergo est hominis clibanus, &c. Origen in Levit vii. hom. v. p. 78.

Thus have I sufficiently proved the tenet of Origen, with respect to the adoration of our Lord; a tenet to which his practice bears the most copious testimony; for considerably more than one hundred homilies conclude with doxologies to the Son or to the Holy Ghost, "Let us then assist ourselves, that we become not unworthy to have our understanding thus enlarged, but that our mind, being first rendered an holy place, may be fitted for the reception of the holy mysteries, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, by whom whatever is holy is sanctified: to him be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen *." "This wisdom shall make known the mystery which was hidden in times past, but now is made manifest by the scriptures of the prophets, and the appearance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory through all ages. Amen †."

But if to be a proper object of religious worship, infer to the omnipotent Godhead of that object; so, on the other hand, an acknowledgement of that Godhead must infer to the propriety of the worship. And when such high expressions of our Redeemer's nature occur perpetually in the works of Origen, I cannot see

* "Demus operam quomodo & nos hoc tanto & tam sublimi intellectu non efficiamur indigni, sed ut anima nostra prius fiat locus sanctus, & in loco sancto capiamus sancta mysteria, per gratiam Spiritus Sancti, ex quo sanctificatur omne quod sanctum est. Ipsi gloria & imperium in secula seculorum. Amen." Origen, p. 106. M. vol. I.

† Ἀὐτὴ δὲ ἡ σοφία ἡμῖν ἐκλυπιδιόσται τρανῶς, καὶ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐμποιήσει μυστηρίε χρόνις αἰώνις σεσιγημένε, φανερωθέντι δὲ οὖν διὰ τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τὰς συμπάσιαις αἰώνας. Ἀμήν. Origen. Philocalia, cap. i. p. 6.

see why it should be doubted that this father esteemed our Lord the proper object of his adoration.

He tells us that "Christ has a two-fold dominion over every creature. By the first kind, as Creator of all things, and bearing sway over the universe, he has all things subject to him in right of his majesty, and by the necessity of power, by means of which he not only rules the good and holy intelligences, but the wicked and rebellious, and such beings as the holy scripture denominates evil spirits. For this cause, therefore, he is called the Possessor of the universe and the Almighty, according to what John in the apocalypse reveals, saying, these things saith he, "which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." Revel. i. 8 *. This the father proceeds to say is one mode of the power by which Christ rules all things, "For what can resist the nod of the universal King, the Prince of all things, of God himself, the Word †." But the second species of his sovereignty is not by coercion, but invitation and persuasion, not by exerted power, but by compassion and lenity.

Here

* Duobus ex modis constat in omnem creaturam Christi dominatio. Uno, per quem ut Creator omnium & potestatem gerens universorum, vi majestatis & potentiae necessitate habet cætera subiecta, per quem modum non solum bonis & sanctis mentibus & spiritibus dominatur, verum & nequam & refulgis & his quos scriptura divina malignos angelos appellavit. Idcirco igitur & Omnitens & Omnipotens dicitur, secundum quod Joannes designat in Apocalypsi dicens, Hæc dicit qui est, & qui erat, & qui venturus est, Omnipotens. Apoc. cap. i. v. 8. Hic ergo unus est modus quo Christus omnibus dominatur. Origen. in Epist. ad Romanos, cap. xiv. lib. ix.

† Τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἐμῆλλε τὴν παμβασίλειω, καὶ πανηγυρίῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ, ἐκλήσεσθαι τῷ πνεύματι. Eusebii Eccles. Hist. lib. x. p. 469. Edit, Cantab. Reading, 1720, folio.

Here then we see Christ confessed to be the omnipotent Creator of the universe; we find that Origen, as well as all the nations of the earth, together with Eusebius, who has recorded their concurrent faith, “acknowledged Jesus Christ our Saviour to be not a vulgar King over men, but the true Son of the God of all nature; and that with justice he adored him as being God himself*.” For to Celsus, who objected to the Christians the adoration of a Man who had a mortal body, and an opinion that this Man was God, he answers, “Let those who bring the accusation know that he, whom we think and believe to be from the beginning God, and the Son of God, is the Self-word, the Self-wisdom, and the Self-truth†.” “We believe him to be the Son of God and God the Word‡.”

On

* Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἡμῶν Σωτῆρα,—ἐχ' οἷα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεία γενόμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα τῷ καθόλου Θεῷ παῖδα γνήσιον, καὶ ἈΥΤΟΘΕΟΝ προσκυνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἱμοτῶς. p. 468.—19. Euseb. Ecclef. Hist. lib. x.

The term *αὐτοθεόν* here is of the highest import. It may be translated Self-God; that is, God from his own nature, and without any other original than himself. He is yet a Son, but who shall declare his generation?—The following passage from Origen contains some terms of similar composition.

† Ὅμως δὲ ἴσωςαν οἱ ἐγκαλέητες, οἳ ὃν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπεῖσμεθα ἀρχῇθεν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ υἱὸν Θεῷ, ἔτος ὁ αὐτολόγος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια. Τὸ δὲ θνητὸν αὐτῷ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν, τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνο ἢ μόνον κοινωνίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώσει καὶ ἀνακράσει, τὰ μέγιστα φαιμέν προσειληφέναι, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεϊότητος κεκοινωνηκότα εἰς Θεὸν μεταβεβηκέναι. Origen. contra Celsum, lib. iii. p. 135.

‡ Ὅν πεπεῖσμεθα εἶναι υἱὸν Θεῷ, λόγον Θεοῦ. Euseb. lib. viii. p. 428.

On the declaration made by our Lord, that the disciples shall be brought to judgement for the testimony of his name, and that in the last day he will himself reject the workers of iniquity, Matth. x. 18, and vii. 22, 23, Origen observes that it is easy to deny the truth of these predictions before they are fulfilled; but when facts, thus authoritatively foretold, fall out according to the prophecy, “it becomes manifest that God, having truly been made man, delivered the doctrine of salvation to men *.”

Here, the united Godhead and Manhood of our blessed Redeemer are asserted by this early father in terms as explicit as those ascribed to Athanasius, and in which our Church makes profession of her faith; but the doctrine, cries Mr. Lindsey, is “absurd and unintelligible.” Such, precisely, is the opinion of the heathen Celsus, who, in the fictitious character of a Jew, complains that the believers upon Christ made it a charge against the Jews, that they did not believe on Jesus as upon God; but to this complaint we have already made answer, says Origen, and “testified wherein we conceive him to be God, and wherein we profess that he is Man †.” “Who, though in the beginning he was with God, yet, for the sake of those who are shackled by the flesh, and are therefore fleshly, was himself made flesh, that he might be comprehended by those who could not by any other means look upon him,

* Ὅτι δὲ ἐκείνηκε τὰ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας εἰρημένα, ἐμφαίνει Θεὸν, ἀληθῶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σωτήρια δόγματ' αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκέναι. Origen. Philocalia, cap. i. p. 2. Edit. Cantab. Spencer, 1658, 4to.

† Δεικνύντες ἅμα, πῶς μὲν Θεὸν ἀβλὸν νοῦμεν, κατὰ τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων λέγομεν. Origen contra Celsum, lib. ii. p. 61.

him, inasmuch as he was the Word, and was with God, and was God," John i. 1, 14. And now, speaking in a body, and promulgating himself as flesh, he invites to him such as are fleshly, that he may first make them to be conformed with the Word which was made flesh, and thenceforward advance them to a capacity of conceiving him as he was before he was made flesh; that they, being profited by his instruction in the flesh, may grow up to an acknowledgement that, "tho' we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more," 2 Corinth. v. 16, for God the Word is not to be comprehended. But, as we have said, the Son, being incomprehensible inasmuch as he is God the Word, by whom all things were made, dwelt among us*." This passage, like a Cheval-de-Frise, stretches out a point against Mr. Lindsey in whatever direction he approaches it. Does he declare that the Word, spoken of by St. John in his first chapter, is not the Son? This passage affirms that the

* Ὅστις ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὦν, διὰ τῆς κολληθείας τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ γενόμενος ὡς σὰρξ, ἐγένετο σὰρξ, ἵνα χωρηθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων αὐτὸν βλέπειν, κατὰ λόγον ἦν, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἦν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν. Καὶ σωματικῶς γε καλούμενος, καὶ ὡς σὰρξ ἰσχυρολογούμενος, ἐφ' αὐτὸν καλεῖ τὰς ὕλης σάρκα, ἐν αὐτῇ ποιήσῃ πρῶτον μορφωθῆναι κατὰ λόγον, τὸν γεγόμενον σάρκα. Καὶ μετὰ τούτου αὐτῇ ἀναδιδάσκει ἐπὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἦν πρὶν γενῆται σὰρξ. Ὅτε αὐτῇ ὠφεληθείας, καὶ ἀναδάνειας ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα ἐισαγωγῆς, εἰπῶν τὸ, Ἐγὼ καὶ Χριστὸν ποιεῖ κατὰ σάρκα ἐγνώκαμεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ ἔτι γινώσκομεν—δυσθεώρητος γὰρ ὁ Θεός, λόγος—καὶ ὁ υἱὸς δυσθεώρητος ὦν, ἅτε λόγος Θεός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. Origen contra Celsum, lib. vi. p. 322.

For a passage in many respects parallel to this, see above, p. 159. Compare them both with the assertion of St. Barnabas, p. 15, and of Irenæus, p. 113.

the Word is the Son. Does he declare or concur with my Remarker in declaring that *σωματικῶς*, in Col. ii. 9, does not signify *in a human body*, but *in an aggregate sum*. This passage ascertains the meaning of the word *σωματικῶς*, and determines its signification to be *in a human body*, or, as it is translated in our Bible, *bodily*. And by an extract which shall presently appear, the word *ἀληθῶς* being opposed to *κενότης*, is ascertained to mean the fulness of that state in which our Lord had pre-existed, and of which he emptied himself when he condescended to be made Man: for “Jesus Christ, when he was rich, became poor. For this reason, therefore, he chose for a mother, of whom he should be born, a poor woman, and for the place of his nativity, a poor town †.” Here too Mr. Lindsey’s assertion that our blessed Saviour is no more than his own fellow-creature, may meet its obstruction, and appear perhaps to fall somewhat short of a declaration which maintains that he is God; and yet this gentleman has ventured to plead the perfect agreement between himself and Origen in behalf of his own tenets. How far they differ now, is sufficiently obvious with respect to the two natures subsisting in the one Christ, “who thought it not robbery to be equal with God; that is, who considered it not as any accession to his dignity, that he is indeed equal with God, and one with the Father *.” “And these things we say without separating the Son of God from Jesus; for, according to the dispensation, the

K k 2

soul

† Christus Jesus cum dives esset pauper factus est, ideo ergo & matrem de qua nasceretur, elegit pauperem, & patriam pauperem, de qua dicitur, & tu Bethlehem, &c.—in Levit. cap. xii. 13. homil. viii. ex Erasmi versione, p. 163.

* Nec rapinam duxit esse se æqualem Deo, hoc est, non sibi magni aliquid deputat quod ipse quidem æqualis Deo, & unum cum Patre est. Orig. in Romanos, à Wettsteinio citat. in Philip. ii. 6, 7, 8.

soul and the body of Jesus were made one with the Word of God †." With which "we believe that the mortal body and human soul, which are in him, not only hold communion, but are combined in unity *." The Man, on account of his humility and death, having received all power over things in heaven, inasmuch as they belong to the Only-begotten, that, being by absorption taken into his Godhead, and become one with him, he might with him enjoy a common sovereignty †."

These passages, together with the following, bear an evident relation to Philippians ii. 6, 7, 8, and may, if my reader think any farther vindication of that text necessary, be referred to, p. 161 above. "The WORD of God, condescending to us, and being, during his existence among men, humbled with respect to his own proper dignity, is said to have departed from this world unto the Father, John xiii. 1, that we may see him perfect, being returned to his own fulness, from that emptied state wherein he had made himself of no reputation §." But our author is arguing here that

God,

† Ταῦτα φάμεν, ὅτι χωρίζαντες τὸν υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰησοῦ ἐν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν γεγένηται πρὸς τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ. Origen contra Celsum, lib. ii. p. 64.

* See above for the Greek, p. 256.

† Διὰ τὸ τεταπεινωμέναι ἐαυτὸν, καὶ γενομένου ὑπὸ ἡμοῦ μέχρι θανάτου—λαβόντι τῷ κατὰ τὸν σωτήρα ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐν ἑρανῶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνυπαρχόντων τῷ μονογενεῖ, ἵνα αὐτῷ κοινωνῇ, ἀνακρινάμενοι ἐκείνῳ τῇ θειότητι, καὶ ἐνόμενοι αὐτῷ. Orig. de Orat. partis secundæ, sect. xv. p. 84. Edit. Oxon. 1686, 12mo.

§ Ὁ λόγος τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῖν συγκαταβάσκειν, καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀξίαν, ὅτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ ταπεινωμένος, μεταβάσκειν λέγεται

God, by descent or ascent, does not change place; for that, filling all things, no local manifestation of his presence can argue to his absence from any other part of his own infinity. But this ubiquity he ascribes to the Son also; “for if the God of the universe,” he says, “should descend into Jesus for the salvation of man; if the WORD, which in the beginning was with God, the WORD, which was himself God, should come to us, he relinquishes not his throne, so as that any place shall be without his presence, or any other place be now filled, which had before been unoccupied by him. It is consequently in nowise necessary to the descent of Christ, or the presence of God among men, that his exalted throne on high shall therefore be abdicated *.”—Is ubiquity then an attribute of any being who is not God supreme? and is not “the Son therefore God supreme, who, looking from on high, is not abridged of his universal prospect by motion from place to place; who is at every time in every place, and never circumscribed by any: all mind, all light paternal, all eye, beholding all things, hear-
ing

λέγεται ἐκ τῆς κόσμου τέττε πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνῳ τέλειον αὐτὸν θεασώμεθα, ἀπὸ τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν κενότητος, ἣν ἐκένωσεν αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον πλήρωμα παλινδρομῆναι. Orig., de Oratione, partis secundæ, cap. xii. p. 70. Edit. Oxon. 1686, 12mo.

* Καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τοίνυν τῶν ὅλων τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει συγκαταβαίνει τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπων βίον, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λόγος, Θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, ἐρχεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Οὐκ ἐξεδροῦ γίνεσθαι, ἐδὲ κατελείπει τὴν αὐτῇ ἑδραν: ὡς τίνα μὲν τόπον κενὸν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἕτερον δὲ πλήρη, καὶ προτέρον αὐτὸν ἔχοντα—καὶ χρεῖα εἶναι εἰς τὴν τῇ Χριστῷ κάθοδον, ἢ εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐπιστροφὴν τῇ Θεῷ, κατελείπεσθαι ἑδραν μέζοντα. Origen adv. Celsum, p. 164. Edit. Cantab. Spencer, 1658, 4to.

ing all things, and knowing all things †?" And shall this omniscient, omnipresent, almighty, and eternal Creator of the universe,

*Who, from the heaven of heavens, his high abode,
Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crowned,
Of majesty divine,*

looks down upon his boundless empire, and beholds the magnificent fabrick of his own creation,

*In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
Answering his great idea ;*

shall this "Filial power," I say, be dragged from "the imperial throne of Godhead," and degraded to the state of an inferior, created, circumscribed, and even a corruptible mortal being?

Yes, that he shall, cries Mr. Lindsey, and that too upon the authority of the very writer whom you have now quoted yourself; for "Milton, though he undoubtedly shewed himself uniformly orthodox in his first writings, with respect to the Trinity and the Godhead of Christ, in his *Paradise Lost*, appears entirely to have gone over to the Arian sentiment.—In his *Paradise Regained* a nearer contemplation of Christ's character in the evangelists seems to have led our great author very naturally to *what is called Socinianism*." Sequel to Apol. p. 407.

This

† Οὐ γὰρ ἐξισταί ποτε τῆς αὐτῆς περιωπῆς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ μεριζόμενος, ὁ ἀπολεινόμενος, ὁ μεταδίνων ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, πανταχῶς δὲ ὡς πάντοτε, καὶ μηδαμῇ περιεχόμενος, ὁ λυγρὸς, ὁ λυγρὸς φῶς παύσας, ὁ λυγρὸς ὀφθαλμὸς, πάντα ὁρῶν, πάντα ἀκούων, εἰδὼς πάντα. Clement. Alexandr. Stromatôn, lib. vii. p. 299.

This passage throws light of John v. 13.

This latter charge is preferred in very indefinite terms. But as the same have been made use of by the author of *Familiar Illustrations*, who declares that his little book contains “the essence of *what is called Socinianism*,” I shall suppose that Mr. Lindsey means exactly what this gentleman has more particularly described; and, to avoid prolixity, am contented to rest the decision of this question upon a single article.

This author then lays it down as an article of *what is called Socinianism*, that Christ did not exist previous to his carnal nativity in this world. Now, if it appear that Milton, in his *Paradise Regained*, acknowledges the pre-existence of our Lord, it will necessarily follow, that a nearer contemplation of Christ’s character in the evangelists, was not productive of that change of sentiment which Mr. Lindsey lays to the charge of our great poet. I might here ask and insist upon much more, but I am satisfied with refutation.

The angels, who ministered to our Lord after his temptation and triumph,

“Sing heavenly anthems of his victory,”

and, calling former victory to view, victory obtained over Satan and his rebellious host, previous to the material creation, to our incarnate Saviour himself declare, that

—————Him long of yore

THOU didst rebel, and down from heaven cast,
With all his army—now thou hast avenged
Supplanted Adam, &c. &c.

PAR. REG. book iv. v. 604.

Here

Here then is angelic worship addressed to Jesus Christ, his pre-existence acknowledged, and to his arm is ascribed that conquest over "the infernal serpent, which, in his *Paradise Lost*, has been by the same poet ascribed to

"——— the almighty power."

PAR. LOST, book i. v. 44.

Is this the language of Socinianism? Where now is that transition from orthodoxy, so naturally the consequence of a nearer contemplation of Christ's character in the evangelists *?

As
* As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; for since by man came death, by Man came also the resurrection of the dead, 1 Corinth. xv. 21; and as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One many shall be made righteous, Rom. v. 19.

These few verses comprehend the entire subject of Milton's two noble poems; for the *Paradise Regained*, properly considered, is no more than a sequel to the *Paradise Lost*. The fall of man, and the origin of sin and death, make the subject of the *Paradise Lost*; our restoration and victory over sin and death, that of the *Paradise Regained*. But we fell under temptation which we did not resist, and from one common ancestor derived that corruption which his lapse introduced into our nature. One common Father then to all mankind restores us by the resistance of temptation, and by his firm obedience, fully tried, redeems us from death and sin, over whom he has obtained a victory, which is imputed to us if we resort to and confess him. It was Satan that tempted and seduced the first man, who was earthly; but it is Satan that is foiled in all his wiles, defeated and repulsed by "the second Man, who is the Lord from heaven." It was by man we fell: it is a greater Man who must restore us, and resume the blissful seat.—Now I desire to know in what other character than that of a man could Milton, consistently with the simplicity of his plan, have considered our Saviour?—In *Paradise Lost*, book iii. v. 294, he puts into the mouth of the Father an assurance to the "Filial God-head" that, on his assumption of humanity,

——— to Man as is most just

Shall satisfy for man———

As to the remaining position, that "Milton had, in his *Paradise Lost*, entirely gone over to the Arian sentiment," it is a meer *gratis dictum*; and the only passage quoted on the occasion, is one upon which Mr. Lindsey declares he will not rely, because it speaks to the contrary. This is a perfectly new method of supporting an assertion; and it remains to be explained why Milton is not to be believed when he speaks concerning his own faith. In the mean while, however, I shall venture to rely upon this passage, as an argument in evidence of Milton's orthodoxy at the time of writing his *Paradise Lost*. It stands in context with the verses quoted p. 242 above, and which I have already observed were grounded upon the assertion made by St. Paul to the Philippians.

Thus then does our truly Christian poet exhibit the Father addressing the Son on the subject of man's future redemption:

Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume
Man's nature, lessen or degrade thy own,
Because thou hast, tho' throned in highest bliss
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition, quitted all to save, &c.

PAR. LOST. book iii. v. 306.

From this we may learn that Milton thought it not robbery in our blessed Redeemer to be "equal to God;" that he considered him here on earth as having humbly assumed "man's nature;" and that hereby he did not look upon the Godhead as degraded, even though, to the perfection of manhood, it was necessary that he should be born, and rise from infancy, through youth, to maturity. That "youthful

meditations' therefore should employ that youth, affords no argument against the undegraded, undiminished Godhead of the Messiah †. "The Word was made flesh," and in this flesh, which he took that he might become our sacrifice and propitiation, and which he reassumed; that, by a participation with us, he might be our eternal advocate, our Redeemer was born, grew in wisdom and stature, died, was buried, arose from the dead and ascended into heaven: his Godhead was nevertheless exempt from all infirmity and sufferings. He was man, and "having assumed humanity, he assumed all its properties, that he might be acknowledged to have taken flesh not in appearance only, but in reality. In this character it is that he prays "the cup of his passion may pass from him, nevertheless not according to his own will, but the will of the Father," Matth. xxvii. 39. For, of every faithful man, it is characteristic, first, as he is flesh, to suffer pain with reluctance, especially pain that is mortal; and secondly, inasmuch as he is faithful, to acquiesce in the will of God, even where it opposes his own will, lest he should seem more to relinquish hope, on account of his own weakness, than to indulge it from a confident reliance upon the strength of God *." As man then, to the

† This is said in reply to an objection made by Mr. Lindsey to Dr. Newton's Comment on Paradise Regained, book i. verse 101: "How finely and consistently does Milton here imagine the *youthful meditations* of our Saviour," is the remark of the learned Prelate, on which Mr. Lindsey adds, "*God can never become a child or a youth.*" But early prejudice hinders us from seeing the grossest contradictions in our own sentiments." Which is it, in candour or penetration that Mr. Lindsey considers himself so highly superior to Dr. Newton?

* Suscipiens enim naturam carnis humanæ omnes proprietatis implevit, ut non in phantasiâ habuisse carnem existimaretur sed in veritate: secundum quod in hoc loco erat calicem passionis transire à se, sed non sicut vult ipse, sed sicut vult Pater. Quoniam proprium est omnis hominis fidelis

the perfection of whose nature infirmity is essential, we here find antiquity declare that our Lord feared, deprecated, and yet sustained his afflictions; that, "by anticipating the office of the executioner, he voluntarily yielded up the Ghost, together with the WORD*." Thus then he even dies. What follows: Is he therefore not God? No, cry these men, for God cannot die. Peevish objection! Do we say he can? They know we do not. But let Lactantius answer them: "By the Spirit, Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and by the flesh, the Son of man; that is, CHRIST WAS BOTH GOD AND MAN. He is God, for Isaiah has declared, "They shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee, and there is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour, Isaiah xlv. 14 †."—Let Origen also rebuke their petulance:

fidelis primum quidem nolle pati aliquid doloris, maxime quod ducit usque ad mortem, quia homo est carnalis; si autem sic voluerit Deus, acquiescere etiam contra voluntatem suam, quia fidelis est, ne plus videatur in se desperare quam in Deum sperare. Orig. Tractatus in Matth. xxxv. tom II. p. 115.

This passage stands in context with that quoted in the 243d page: which see. See also p. 174, to which refer it.

* Spiritum cum VERBO sponte dimisit, prævento carnificis officio. Tertull. Apologet. adv. Gentes, cap. xxi.

† The life of LUCIUS COELIUS LACTANTIUS FIRMIANUS was continued into the fourth century. He is rather an elegant writer, having principally addicted himself to the study of Rhetorick.—The passage translated above is thus introduced: The author assures us that Christ was born of the Father, first without a mother, and afterwards of a woman without a father, that it might be truly said of him that he was without father and without mother: for in each nativity he was without one of them. Per Spiritum factus est Filius Dei, & hominis per carnem, id est, & Deus & Homo. He then applies the prophecies which I have stated, and declares that the 44th Psalm is addressed to the Son. Lucii Cœlii Lactantii de verâ Religione & Sapientiâ, lib. iv. cap.

lance : “ We do not say that Christ was a meer man, but confess him to be both God and Man. We confess him to be equally God and Man *.” And that, “ fulfilling the prophecies, he has evidently appeared, both according to his Godhead and according to his Manhood †.” “ For the Word of God, clothed in the flesh of Mary, came forth into the world ; and in him was one substance which was seen, another which was understood. His fleshly form was obvious to the eyes of all ; but to the few only, and those a chosen few, was the knowledge of his Godhead imparted ‡.” For

cap. xiii. de *Jesu Deo & Homine*, deque eo testimonia prophetarum.—The very title of this chapter affords an argument in proof of the writer’s sentiments, and yet Mr. Lindsey lays claim to his concurrence with him. If Lactantius actually concur with Mr. Lindsey, under what necessity did he lie to give an erroneous translation of his words?—I will not here transcribe the misrepresented passage throughout ; I only ask of Mr. Lindsey, by what authority he ventured to turn the words “ *patriâ scilicet virtute & majestate pollentem*,” which signify *positively*, “ mighty in his Father’s power and majesty,” by a *comparative* term, which makes our Saviour only the most excellent of the angels? “ And although he afterwards created innumerable other spirits by him, whom we call angels, yet this his First-born alone has he honoured with the name of God, as *excelling most* in his Father’s majesty and power.” Preface to the Sequel to Mr. Lindsey’s Apology, p. 20.—I accept of such a conduct as a concession of the author, and, upon Mr. Lindsey’s acknowledgement, pronounce Lactantius not to have been an Unitarian.

* Christum non purum hominem dicimus, sed Deum & Hominem confitemur.—Deum pariter atque Hominem fateamur. Orig. Hom. viii. in Josh. tom I. p. 185.

† Secundum Deitatem & secundum Humanitatem Christus prophetatus evidenter appareat. Orig. Hom. xxii. in Numer. tom. I. p. 153.

‡ Verbum Dei ex Mariæ carne vestitum processit in hunc mundum, & aliud quidem erat quod videbatur in eo, aliud quod intelligebatur. Carnis namque aspectus in eo patebat omnibus, paucis vero & electis dabatur Divinitatis agnitio. Orig. Hom. i. in Levit. tom I. p. 64.

For "Christ is the Word of God, but the Word was made flesh," John i. 14. In Christ, therefore, there is one substance from above, another assumed of the human nature and the virgin's womb. Christ suffers, but it is in the flesh: he became obedient to death, but it was as he is flesh. Nevertheless the Word, which is Christ as concerning the Spirit, remained in incorruption. *See above, p. 159.* He is therefore not only our Sacrifice, but also, as concerning the Spirit, he is our Priest *." And through him "our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken and we are escaped," Pf. cxxiv. 7. But who has broken the snares, save he who alone could not be holden of them? For tho' he was under the dominion of death, yet was obedience his own voluntary act. He died, but not as we do, who yield under the necessity of sin; for he alone it is who was "free among the dead," Pf. lxxxiv. 4. And because he was free among the dead, having vanquished him who had the power of death, he took away the bondage to death, Heb. ii. 14, Rom. viii. 15, and not only raised himself from the dead,

* Christus Verbum Dei est; sed Verbum caro factum est. Unum igitur in Christo de superioribus est; alterum ex humanâ naturâ & virginali utero susceptum. Patitur ergo Christus, sed in carne; & pertulit mortem, sed caro. Verbum vero in incorruptione permansit, quod secundum Spiritum Christus. Ideo ipse & Hostia est & Pontifex secundum Spiritum. Orig. Hom. ix. in Genesin. tom. I. p. 18.

The argument of the father here is the typical agreement both of Isaac, who returned from the altar unhurt, and of the ram which was sacrificed upon it, with Christ at once both Priest and Victim. In which latter character he says that John addressed him, saying, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world," John i. 36. Gen. xxii. 13.

Anima autem hominis est quæ conturbatur & tristis est usque ad mortem, non Verbum quod erat a principio apud Deum, quod nunquam mæret, nunquam turbatum est, nunquam dixit, heu mihi. Neque enim Verbum sustinet, sed homo qui istos patitur affectus, ut sæpe exposuimus. Orig. Hom. xi. in Jerem. tom. I. p. 381.

dead, but with himself raised up also those who were held in death †."

But, with regard to Milton, Mr. Lindsey proceeds to bring farther, but similar proofs of his Socinianism, and says that, in one of his later writings, we find him thus delivering his sentiments:—"The hottest disputes among Protestants are about things not absolutely necessary to salvation.—The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to scripture, and the apostolic creed. As for the terms trinity, triniunity, coëssentiality, tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in scripture, which, by a general Protestant maxim, is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known: *a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtilties, but in scripture a plain doctrine.*"

Here

† Quis autem contrivit laqueos, nisi ille qui solus in eis teneri non potuit? quamvis & ipse in morte fuit, voluntarie, & non ut nos necessitate peccati. Solus est enim qui fuit inter mortuos liber. Et quia liber inter mortuos fuit, idcirco devicto eo qui habuit mortis imperium, abstraxit captivitatem quæ tenebatur in mortem. Et non solum seipsum resuscitavit a mortuis, sed & eos qui tenebantur in morte simul excitavit. Orig. Homil. iii. in Cantic. Canticorum, tom. I. p. 345.

On the prophecy of Jacob, which concludes, "Who shall rouse him up?" Gen. xlix. 9, this father affords a comment similar to the passage now quoted: "But the prophet says, "Who shall rouse him up?" thus interrogatively, because he is said sometimes to have been raised by the Father, Gal. i. 1. And he has also declared that, after three days, he will himself raise up the temple of his body." Quod vero ait, quis suscitabit eum? idcirco quia nunc a Patre dicitur suscitatus, nunc etiam ipse templum corporis sui post triduum suscitare se dicit; & merito in hoc quasi-percentantis designatur affectus. Orig. Hom. xvii. in Num, tom I. p. 151.

Here Mr. Lindsey closes his extract: but to his own conscience I put the question, whether Milton here closes the sense? and whether he did not himself know that this great author proceeds without intermission in the following terms? "Their other opinions are of less moment: they dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word satisfaction, as not scriptural, but they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour*." If then they make this acknowledgement, it is evident that the Godhead of our Saviour is not one of those things about which Protestants engage in disputes among themselves, and consequently that it is not one of those things which Milton pronounces "not absolutely necessary to salvation." They dispute concerning scholastic terms, he says, which some reject because not found in the scripture, according to which, though they do not use the word *trinity*, they yet affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And as to "*their sophistic subtilties*," which Mr. Lindsey so emphatically prints in Italic characters, they will be found to be the subtilties of the Arian and Socinian, who have made into a mystery this high matter, so necessary to be known, and which is in scripture a plain doctrine †.

This

* The work from which this extract is taken, is entitled "Of true Religion, Herésie, Schism, Toleration, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of POPERY." It is a noble tract, and in every respect worthy of its great and liberal author.—A summary of the contents might contribute to my argument; but it is very brief, and I had rather the whole were adverted to.

† It hurts me exceedingly to relinquish the good opinion I had heretofore entertained of Mr. Lindsey's veracity; but where his deviation from truth tends evidently to mislead the reader, I am not at liberty to let it pass undetected. In the present instance, the evidence is easily accessible, and he accordingly stands convicted upon the fullest proof. But he may sometimes have made assertions of a similar nature, the reality of which cannot

This charge, however seemingly paradoxical, may be, and indeed is, strictly true; for, although the Arian and Socinian exclaim against mystery, it is upon this very ground that they object to the plain and necessary truths contained in the scriptures.—“When you confess one God,” says Origen, “and in the same confession assert that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God, how perplexed, how difficult, how inextricable does this seem to the faithless! Again, when you say that the Lord of glory has been crucified, 1 Cor. ii. 8, and that it is the Son of man who has descended from heaven, John iii. 13, how perplexed! cries he who hears, but hears without faith, how difficult is this! The error is their own; do thou nevertheless remain steadfast, nor entertain

cannot be so readily investigated. He may have said that one gentleman of the name of Haynes had given assurance to another gentleman of the name of Baron, that Sir Isaac Newton denied, nay derided, the incarnation of our Lord.—But he actually has said so. How then is such a charge to be refuted? All means of enquiring into a fact of this nature are rescinded. Is Sir Isaac Newton therefore to labour on for ever under the weight of this burdensome calumny? No, not another hour. The answer is obvious and sufficient. The accusation stands upon the very same testimony which has been already borne against the respected name of Milton: its validity has been already discussed; it has been already superseded. We are therefore at liberty to deny the assertion, and consider the whole together as only an exercise of *Arian or Socinian subtilty*.

If Mr. Lindsey should chuse to corroborate this third-hand testimony of Mr. Haynes, by citing Mr. Whiston also to give evidence against Sir Isaac Newton, I refer the reader to a letter written by Mr. Whiston himself to the Earl of Nottingham, dated July 10, 1719, “concerning the eternity of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit.” He will there find that, out of a considerable number of extracts from the fathers, scarce a single passage is justly represented, or truly and honestly translated, by that writer. This I should conceive a sufficient ground of objection to Mr. Whiston’s testimony.—Lord Nottingham wrote an answer to this epistle, in which he has with great penetration detected, and with equal perspicuity exposed, the frauds of his adversary.

a doubt concerning this belief, knowing that God hath shewn to thee this way of faith *." This way of faith then it is that the Arian and Socinian would tangle and perplex. Not seeing what the plain truths of scripture really are, they convert them into what they are not, and then upbraid us with doctrines which we do not profess. "Had these disciples, like *modern tritheists*," says Mr. Lindsey, (or somebody that he quotes, I care not who) "praised and blessed *GOD the Father; GOD the Son; and GOD the Holy Ghost*, the worshippers in the temple would have stoned them." (Sequel to Apology, p. 30). I do verily believe they would, for so they actually did by our Lord himself, when, according to their own account, "he made himself to be God, John x. 33." So likewise they actually did by Stephen when "he called upon the Lord Jesus to receive his spirit," Acts vii. 59. Of the Jews, five times did Paul receive forty stripes, save one; thrice, as a minister of Christ, was he beaten with rods, and once was he stoned, 2 Cor. xi. 24. And Origen apprehends "that they will stone him also, as a blasphemer, for glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ †."—The glory of our Redeemer is the object of Jewish persecution, and consequently every exercise,

nay,

* Cum confitearis unum Deum, eademque confessione Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum asseris unum Deum, quam tortuosum, quam difficile, quam inextricabile videtur hoc esse infidelibus! Tu deinde cum dicis Dominum majestatis crucifixum, & Filium hominis esse qui descendit de cælo, quam tortuosa hæc videntur & quam difficilia! qui audit, si non cum fide audiat, dicit; quia errant ipsi. Sed tu fixus esto, nec dubites de hujusmodi fide, sciens quia Deus tibi ostendit hanc fidei viam. Orig. in Exodum, Homil. vi. tom. I. p. 44.

† Nec verò quasi blasphemantem me lapidetis dum velim glorificare Dominum meum Jesum Christum. Orig. Homil. iii. in Isaiam, tom. I. p. 352.

nay, every instrument of Jewish persecution may be considered as bearing testimony to his glory. With gratitude, therefore, I acknowledge Mr. Lindsey's contribution of a new witness to the Godhead of Jesus Christ; for while, with threats of Jewish persecution, he enjoins us to hold our peace, and desist from "saying hosanna to the Son of David," he has literally made "even the stones cry out," Luke xix. 40, (see p. 166). —And does Mr. Lindsey at length speak out and profess himself a Jew? or would he persuade us that the Jewish and Christian religions are under the same dispensation? This he can never effect, "for the Jews do not believe in Christ †." — But is there not a little Socinian subtilty here? Are we really *tritheists*? or is tritheism pretended by us to be the plain doctrine of the scriptures? This is precisely the conduct objected to these men by Milton. The Trinitarian doctrine which we embrace, they charge to us as tritheism, which it is not; and thus do they subtilly sophisticate the sense of the scripture, which alone we admit of as our rule of faith in this or in any other article of our religion. "There are some indeed who make profession of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but not in sincerity, and according to truth: such are all heretics who profess, but, being without faith, sophisticate the profession of, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For they either falsely divide the Son from the Father, by declaring the Father to be of one nature, and the Son of another; or else they falsely make confusion by thinking God a compound of three natures, or only a trinal name. But he who makes a good confession, ascribes to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost their respective peculiars, yet nevertheless professes that,

among

† Christo Judæi non crediderunt. Orig. in Rom. cap. x.

among them, there subsists no diversity of nature or of substance †.”

In his Homily upon the Decalogue, Origen asserts that the second commandment strictly prohibits not only the reality, but even the external appearance of devotion towards idols: “Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.” “Now we must know that a resolution to obey this commandment, and to renounce all other gods and lords, and to adhere to, or acknowledge but one God and Lord, is a declaration of irreconcilable war upon all others. When, therefore, we come to the grace of baptism, renouncing all other gods and lords, we acknowledge one God alone, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost †.” And “this faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we hold together with all who are assembled to the

† Sunt enim nonnulli qui annunciant quidem & prædicant de Patre, & Filio, & Spritu Sancto, non sincere, non integre: ut sunt omnes hæretici, qui Patrem quidem & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum annunciant, sed non bene, non fideliter annunciant. Aut enim male separant Filium a Patre, ut alterius naturæ Patrem, alterius Filium dicant: aut male confundunt, ut ex tribus compositum Deum, vel trinæ tantummodo appellationis in eo esse vocabulum putent. Qui autem bene annunciant bona, proprietates quidem Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto suas cuique dabit, nihil autem diversitatis esse confitebitur in naturâ vel substantiâ. Qui ergo ita annunciant evangelium, non solum bona annunciant, sed bene & integre annunciant bona. Orig. in Epist. ad Roman. cap. x. lib. viii. tom. II. p. 383.

† Cum decreveris præcepti ejus servare mandatum, & omnes cæteros deos & dominos repudiare, & præter unum Deum & Dominum neminem habere vel deum vel dominum, hoc est bellum sine fœdere denunciaffe omnibus cæteris. Cum ergo venimus ad gratiam baptismi, universis aliis diis & dominis renunciantes, solum confitemur Deum Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum. Orig. Homil. viii. in Exod. xx. tom. I. p. 52.

the church of God *,” and “who follow their Lord and Creator Jesus Christ †.” “It is therefore our part, who abjure the adoration of the creature, and worship and adore only the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, even as we err not in our religion, so likewise to offend not in our actions and our conversation ‡;” “but with such diligence to order our actions, with such diligence to order our conversation, that we may be thought worthy of the notice of God, that he may deign to take cognizance of us; that we may be thought worthy of the notice of his Son Jesus Christ, and of the notice of the Holy Ghost; that, being acknowledged by the Trinity, we may deserve fully, honestly, and perfectly to acknowledge the mystery of the Trinity by the revelation of Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen. §”

Here again we have an instance of glory being ascribed to our Lord, to whom Origen farther addresses the

* *Credo fidem Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, in quam credunt omnes qui sociantur ecclesiæ Dei.* Orig. Hom. v. in Levitic. tom. I. p. 77.

† *Sequentur Dominum & Creatorem suum Christum Jesum.* Origen, Homil. ii. in Exod. tom. I. p. 37.

‡ *Nos autem qui nullam creaturam, sed Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum colimus & adoramus, sicut non erramus in cultu ita nec in actibus quidem & in conversatione peccemus.* Orig. lib. i. cap. i. in Rom. tom II. p. 302.

§ *Nos vero operam demus tales effici actus nostros, talem conversationem nostram, ut digni habeamus notitiâ Dei, ut nos scire dignetur, ut digni habeamur notitiâ Filii ejus Jesu Christi, & notitiâ Spiritus Sancti; ut agniti a Trinitate, & nos sacramentum Trinitatis plene & integre & perfecte mereamur agnoscere, revelante nobis Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui est gloria & imperium, in secula seculorum. Amen.* Orig. Hom. iv. in Genes. cap. xvii. tom I. p. 12.

the following prayer, bearing an obvious reference to John xiii. 5, &c. "Come, I beseech thee, O Lord Jesus, thou Son of David, and wash the feet of thy servants, and purge away the filth of thy sons and daughters. Wash the feet of our minds, that, casting off our old garments, we may imitate and follow thee †."

As Mr. Lindsey has himself allowed "religious worship, and the address of prayer to Christ, to be the principal argument for his divinity," it is not unreasonable to infer, that Origen, thus complying with "those plain declarations of scripture which enjoin prayer to Christ, intended thereby to ascribe the proper honour of divinity to him." Apol. p. 135. We may farther conclude from this direct petition to our Saviour, that, to Origen's understanding, the scriptures clearly appeared to authorise, nay, to command "the invocation of Jesus Christ our Lord," 1 Cor. i. 2. To Mr. Lindsey's, however, they seem to have prohibited all intercourse with him. The sense, therefore, in which Origen, an early Greek writer, accepted those injunctions, I shall here oppose to that interpretation which has been lately put upon them by Mr. Lindsey and other English Unitarians.

Mr. Lindsey declares (he says after Dr. Clarke and Dr. Hammond, but even their critical authority must sink under the weight of Origen) that this phrase of *calling upon Christ* (ἐπικαλέμεν) never occurs in scripture, so

† Veni, precor, Domine Jesu Fili David, exue vestimenta quæ tu Domine induisti propter me, & accingere propter me, & mitte aquam in pelvim, & lava pedes servorum tuorum, & dilue fordes filiorum & filiarum tuarum. Lava pedes animæ nostræ, ut nos te-imitantes & sectantes exuamus nos vetera vestimenta. Orig. Homil. viii. in Judic. tom I. p. 219.

so as to imply directly *invoking him*, except in Acts vii. 59. And, laying it down as a general rule that it signifies, having the name of another called upon the subject spoken of, he alledges that, in 1 Cor. i. 2, instead of, “with all who call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord,” it should be translated, “with all them that are called by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.” See Apol. p. 132, and Script. Confut. p. 79 and 102.

It is only the reputation of Dr. Clarke and Dr. Hammond that can preserve such an assertion from contempt; and were not the strength of their authority placed beneath the observation, I should leave it to fall by its own weakness. The remark, so far as it affects 1 Cor. i. 2, must go upon a supposition that ἐπικαλούμενοι here, and in every other passage in which it occurs, (one only excepted) is a passive participle, or, I rather think, the participle of a substantive verb. But if this were so, it must have been followed by the surname itself, put in the same case with the subject on which it is called, and with which it is brought into apposition; or, if followed by an accusative case, not apposite, a preposition must intervene to govern it, and the surname, which is imposed thereupon, whether expressed or implied, be made the subject of the proposition, as in the epistle of St. James ii. 7, τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικλήθεν ἐφ’ ὑμῶν. But if the verb ἐπικαλέομαι, or any of its tenses, be immediately followed by an accusative case, evidently governed by it, it must then clearly have an active or transitive signification, and be rendered into English by the like tense of the verb “*to invoke or call upon*,” so likewise the participles ἐπικαλούμενοι, &c. followed by an accusative case, must signify “*invoking or calling upon*,” unless they be themselves in the accusative case, and agree with some antecedent accusative, of which they

they assert that which follows them, and predicate it the surname of the antecedent subject: and in such cases they may admit of the sense of *surnamed*, as in the following instance, ἐσῆλθε δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰδαν τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Ἰσκαριώτην, Luke xxii. 3. But, in such circumstances, the surname is not governed by the participle, but agrees with and stands in apposition to the subject, of which it is thus substantively declared *to be* an addition. I need hardly add that, when transitive, the verb ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and its participles are of the middle voice.

This brief rule seems to me to carry a full and sufficient answer to every objection which Mr. Lindsey has brought, or indeed is likely ever to bring, against the common acceptation of that verse, the sense of which he has been pleased to controvert.—In order that the subject spoken of may have the name of another called upon it, belief in that other cannot possibly be a requisite qualification, because the subject is passive; whereas, on the other hand, to invocation belief is absolutely and indispensably necessary; for how shall we invoke or call upon him whom we have not believed? Rom. x. 14. Invocation is obviously here the commandment of the apostle.—St. Paul desires Timothy to follow righteousness, faith, &c. μετὰ τῶν ἐπικαλούμενων τὸν κύριον ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας, 2 Tim. ii. 22. Can the word here signify any thing but invoking or calling upon? To have a surname (in which the subject is merely passive) from a pure heart is really rank nonsense; so that, in this passage, it cannot possibly be the meaning of the participle ἐπικαλούμενων.—The words, “whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved” or “delivered,” were prophetically written by Joel ii. 32, and are evidently referred to by St. Paul, Rom. x. 13, and by him introduced with the word
“for,”

“*for*,” as a cause already subsisting (the prophecy affording a sufficient establishment and assurance of it) for what he had said just before concerning the riches of the Lord unto all who shall call upon him *. Now, in whatever sense the prophet Joel uses this term, St. Paul also uses it in the same; and the Lord spoken of by the prophet, is the same that is spoken of by the apostle: so that here a dilemma meets Mr. Lindsey’s assertion, and he is at liberty to chuse whether “*the Lord*” be put for God the Father or for our Lord Jesus Christ. If, for God the Father, he does not argue against the invocation which may be intended by the words “*call upon*,” but if, following St. Paul, he allows it to be put for our Saviour, and that the prophets therefore call him “*the Lord*,” why must the word shift its meaning upon the new application? An hypothesis falls to the ground. Say rather with honesty that the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ must be acceded to upon the authority of the Old Testament also. But “we desire to shew that the God revealed under the law and the gospel is the same God, the same God of old, to day and for ever. Amen. But there are some who, in their opinion, divide the Godhead of antient revelation from that which is now proclaimed to be in Christ. We yet know but one God in past and present time; one Christ, now and heretofore; and in like manner one Holy Ghost, together with the Father and the

* “For the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him; for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?” Rom. x. 13. Thus in the original: ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς κύριος πάντων πλεῖων εἰς πάντας τὰς ἐπικαλούμενας αὐτὸν. Πᾶς γὰρ, ὅς ἂν ἐπικαλεσῇται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται. And, omitting the word γὰρ, which the apostle introduces only to shew that he refers to a prophecy, the passage in Joel is exactly the same in the Septuagint version.

the Son eternal †." "Though not comprehending, yet confessing the Father and the Son, we do not separate the Father from the Son, nor the Son from the Father, while the Jews continue only to receive the Father, and, separating Christ from God the Creator, his Father, do not receive Christ, who is his Word and his Wisdom *." And is it to the Levite that we are now to resort for instruction? is it in the abrogated temple that we are now to seek for the gospel of Jesus Christ? No, "for the Jews have not believed in Christ, and therefore do not call upon him whom they have not believed, (Rom. x. 14). But in the beginning of St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, where he says, "with all who, in every place, call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours," (1. Corinth. i. 2.) he pronounces Jesus Christ, whose name is there called upon, to be God. If therefore Enos, and Moses, and Aaron, and Samûel, called upon the Lord, and he heard them, without question they called upon the Lord Jesus Christ. And if to call

† Hæc autem nos qui ecclesiastici sumus magis debemur advertere, qui volumus eundem Deum esse legis & evangelii, ipsum Deum & antiquitus & nunc & in omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Sunt quidem qui opinione sua veterem divinitatem ab eâ quæ in Christo annuntiatur dividant. Nos unum novimus Deum & in præterito & in presente, unum Christum & nunc & modo, similiter & unum Spiritum Sanctum cum Patre & Filio sempiternum. Origen, Homil. vi. in Jeremiam, tom. I. p. 372.

* Qui ergo separant Christum a Creatore Deo Patre suo hæretici, & Judæi, qui, solum Patrem recipiunt, & Verbum & sapientiam ejus Christum non recipiunt, non faciunt ex duobus decimis unum panem. Nos autem mensuræ quidem ipsius, id est substantiæ nomen vel rationem comprehendere aut invenire non possumus: consistentes tamen Patrem & Filium unum facimus panem ex duabus decimis: non ut panis unus ex unâ decimâ fiat, & alius ex aliâ, ut sint ipsæ quæ decimæ una massa, & unus panis. Quomodo duæ decimæ una massa fit? quia non separo Filium a Patre, nec Patrem a Filio. Orig. Homil. xiii. in Levitic, tom. I. p. 105. Levit. vii.

call upon the name of the Lord, and to adore God, be one and the same thing; as Christ is called upon, so is Christ adored; and as we address our prayers to God the Father, so likewise we address them to the Lord Jesus Christ; as we prefer our petitions to the Father, so likewise we prefer them to the Son; and as we render our thanksgiving to God, so likewise we render thanksgiving to our Saviour. For the holy scripture teaches that one honour shall be ascribed to both, when it says that “all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father, John v. 23*.” See above, p. 250.

The

* Christo enim Judæi non crediderunt, ideo “nec invocant eum cui non crediderunt,” (πῶς ἔν ἐπικαλέσονται εἰς ὃν ἔν ἐπιστεύσαν;) Sed & in principio epistolæ quem ad Corinthios scribit, ubi dicit; “Cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini Jesu Christi, &c.” (σὺν πάσι τοῖς ἐπικαλεμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.) Eom, cujus nomen invocatur, Deum, Jesum Christum esse pronuntiant. Si ergo Enos (ἔτις ἡλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ. Gen. iv. 26.) Et Moses, & Aaron, & Samuel invocabant Dominum & ipse exaudiebat eos (Μωσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν ἐν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ Σαμὴλ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαλεμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσήκουεν. Psalm. xcix. 6.) Sine dubio Christum Jesum invocabant: Et si invocare Domini nomen & adorare Deum unum atque idem est; sicut invocatur Christus, & adorandus est Christus; & sicut offerimus Deo Patri primò omnium orationes, ita & Domino Jesu Christo; & sicut offerimus postulationes Patri, ita offerimus postulationes Filio; & sicut offerimus gratiarum actiones Deo, ita gratias offerimus Salvatori. Unum namque utrique honorem deferendum, id est, Deo Patri & Filio, divinus docet sermo cum dicit, ut honorificent Filium sicut honorificent Patrem, Johan. v. 23. Origen, lib. viii. in Roman. tom. II. p. 382.

It were an idle objection to say here that my quotation is in Latin, whereas Origen wrote in Greek, and therefore that *invoco*, the subject here, might not have been ἐπικαλέομαι in the Original. The texts, on which the father has made this comment, appear, and put the real fact out of all farther question.—He tells us himself too that he used the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.—Nos Septuaginta interpretum scripta per omnia custodimus. Origen, Hom. i. in Cantic. Cantorum, tom. I. p. 320.

The sense of antiquity is now stated. To call upon, or invoke by prayer and adoration, is by Origen pronounced an acknowledgement of his Godhead, who is thus adored. And shall modern criticism stand up against the authority of this Greek father, who has thus explicitly attested, that whosoever has, even in the Old Testament, called upon the Lord, has called upon the Lord Jesus Christ?

But it is not denied, says Mr. Lindsey, rescinding his former tenet, that, “in the Septuagint, *ἐπικαλέομαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου*, is very often used, and always signifies to call upon, or invoke by prayer and adoration, *the Lord, the God of Israel.*” Sequel to Apology, p. 56. Who that God of Israel is, the fathers have all concurred to shew*. But that is not now the question. If the acknowledged signification of *ἐπικαλέομαι* be *to invoke*, and if invocation be a testimony of Godhead, the Godhead of Christ must be acknowledged upon this single concession relative to the meaning of the word. But the Godhead of Christ is not to be admitted upon any terms: and whether the premises can or cannot be established, is a matter of little importance, for no change can take place in an hypothesis; and therefore, though every pretended ground of denial be taken away, the divinity of Christ must still be denied. Has not reason intuitively decided against the doctrine? Remarks, p. 78. What then can demonstration do but argue *ad absurdum*? The conclusion alone must be made the criterion of the premises, and the testimony of scripture itself, the acknowledged revelation of God, be adjudged a falsehood, when brought into competition with those innate communications which he has been pleased to impress on our nature.—But has such

* See page 190, 80, &c.

a communication been really made? has the human intellect been stamped with such an impression of a God, as may with any adequacy represent the mode of his existence? What grounds subsist on which we may form such a substantial hypothesis as shall not instantly vanish, when beamed upon by the light of his radiant Word?—"When I speak of the omnipotence of God, of his invisibility and eternity, I chuse a lofty theme; when I speak of the coëternity of his only begotten Son, and those mysteries which concern him, I take a lofty theme; I take a lofty theme when I speak of the majesty of the Holy Ghost. These alone afford an elevated subject of discourse; and after these three, speak thou of nothing in an elevated strain, for all things are low and abject when compared to the glorious height of this Trinity *." But of these high matters it is not reason which has imparted any information. Right reason, whose dignity consists in self-knowledge, herself comprehended, and, as it were, insulated within the all-surrounding infinity of that Being, who extends beyond comprehension, in modest silence yields attention to the uninterrupted words of her Creator. She sees "the thick darkness which God has made his secret place," and, conscious of her own inability to penetrate "the clouds which are round about him," with "the earth that shook and the heavens which drop at the presence of God," "trembling, removed, afar off, she enquires," "and hears him answer her by a voice;" she is

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* Quando de omnipotentiâ Dei loquor, de invisibilitate & sempiternitate ejus, excelsa loquor. Quando de unigeniti ejus coëternitate cæterisque ejus mysteriis pronuncio, excelsa loquor. Quando de Sancti Spiritûs magnificentiâ differo, excelsa loquor. In his tantum nobis conceditur loqui excelsa. Post hæc tria jam nihil loquaris excelsum. Omnia enim humilia sunt & dejecta. quantum ad Trinitatis hujus celsitudinem spectat. Nolite ergo multiplicare loqui excelsa nisi de Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto. Origen, lib. i. in Reges, tom. I. p. 225.

“answered in the secret place of thunder;” she hearkens to the voice of God; and when he speaks, she accedes, she believes. “The thick cloud now passes away, and brightness is before him. The heavens declare his righteousness, and all the people see his glory.” “The cloud is taken up from his sanctuary,” and reason is thenceforward enabled to proceed. The truth of God alone she assumes for her premises, and what unbiassed investigation must necessarily deduce from his word, she establishes as the conclusion: his attestation is to her conclusive. “In the scriptures then she finds and acquiesces in the testimony of his appointed witnesses, who have declared “that there is one God, who created and disposed all things, and who, out of nothing, gave existence to the universe; who was the God of all just men from the first creation of the world; the God of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs; the God of Moses and of the prophets. And that this God, as he had before promised by his prophets, did in the latter times send our Lord Jesus Christ *; first to call Israel, but secondly to call the Gentiles, because of the infidelity of the people Israel. That this just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the God of the apostles, alike the God of the Old and
New

* “Think it not a disgrace to his nature,” says Origen, “if the Son be sent by the Father. For, that you may acknowledge the Unity of the Godhead in the Trinity, Christ alone, according to Isaiah in a particular instance, forgiveth sins, and yet it is certain that sins are forgiven by the Trinity.”

Nec putes naturæ contumeliam, si Filius a Patre mittitur. Denique ut Unitatem Deitatis in Trinitate cognoscas, solus Christus in præsentī lectione (scilicet, “ecce abstuli iniquitates tuas & peccata tua circumdavi. *Isaiab.*;) nunc peccata dimittit, & tamen certum est a Trinitate peccata dimitti. Origen, Homil. iii. in Isaiam, tom. I, p. 350.

New Testament, himself gave the law, the prophets, and the gospel. These witnesses have also declared, that Jesus Christ who came, was himself begotten of the Father before every creature; that, after having, in the creation of all things, ministered to the Father, for “by him were all things made,” (John i. 3.) in the latter times making himself of no reputation, he was made man; that, when he was God, he became incarnate; that, because he is God, the manhood has obtained eternity; that he assumed a body like to our body, in this alone different, that it was born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost; and that this Jesus Christ was born, and suffered in reality, not in appearance only, and truly died the common death of all, for he truly rose from the dead, and having, after his resurrection, conversed with his disciples, he was taken up into heaven. These witnesses have also declared that the Holy Ghost is joined with the Father and the Son in honour and dignity*.” “By the gospel it is revealed

* Species vero eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifestè traduntur istæ sunt. Primo quod unus Deus est qui omnia creavit atque composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse universa, Deus a primâ creaturâ & conditione mundi omnium iustorum; Deus Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noë, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, duodecem patriarcharum, Moysès & prophetarum. Et quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas suas ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israël, secundo verò etiam Gentes post perfidiam populi Israël. Hic Deus justus & bonus Pater Domini Jesu Christi, legem & prophetas & evangelia ipse dedit, qui & apostolorum Deus est, & Veteris & Novi Testamenti. Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est. Qui cum in omnium conditione Patri ministrasset, per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt, novissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens homo factus est, incarnatus est cum Deus esset, & homo mansit quòd Deus erat. Corpus assumpsit nostro corpori simile, eo solo differens quòd natum ex virgine de Spiritu Sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus & passus est; verè enim a mortuis resurrexit & post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis assumptus est. Tum deinde, honore ac dignitate Patri ac Filio sociatum, tradi-

vealed that all things were made by the Son, and that without him nothing was made," John i. 3. Let him then who reads understand from this, that the name of *the Almighty* is not more antient in God than the name of *the Father*; for by the Son the Father is almighty; for through Wisdom, which is Christ, God holds the universal dominion, not only by authority, as he is Lord, who can enforce his will, but by the spontaneous duty of those who are subject to him. However, that you may confess that the Father and the Son possess one and the same omnipotence, as the Son is one with the Father, the same God and Lord, hear John in the Revelation testify, "These things sayeth he, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty," Rev. i. 4. But who is to come, the Almighty, besides Christ? So now, as none should be offended that the Father is God, and that the Saviour is God; so none should take offence, when the Father is almighty, that it is also said, the Son is almighty*." "Of

tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum. Orig. Proœmium Libri peri archôn seri de Principiis, tom. I. p. 420.

This passage may be referred to p. 144 above, in which Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8; is discussed, as may the following: "What shall I say of him who, for the love which he bore to us, made himself of no reputation, and, when he was equal with God, looked not on his own things, but on the things which are ours. He therefore humbled himself." Semetipsum exinavit propter charitatem quam habebat erga nos, & non quæsit quæ sua sunt, cum esset æqualis Deo, sed quæsit quæ nostra sunt, & propter hoc evacuavit se. Origen. Homil. vii. in Levit. tom. I. p. 85.

* Per evangelium docetur quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt & sine ipso factum est nihil; & intelligat ex hoc, quia non potest antiquius esse in Deo Omnipotentis appellatio quam Patris; per Filium enim omnipotens est Pater. Per Sapientiam enim, quæ est Christus, tenet Deus omnipotentatum, non solum Dominantis autoritate, verum etiam subditorum spontaneo famulatu. Ut autem unam & eandem omnipotentiam Patris ac Filii cognoscas, sicut unus atque idem est cum Patre Deus & Dominus; audi hoc modo Joannem in Apocalypsi dicentem, "hæc dicit Dominus Deus

“Of the Holy Ghost also I conceive that such is his sanctity, that he cannot be sanctified, inasmuch as no alien sanctification may accrue to him from without, nor any, of which he was not before possessed, accede to him who is always holy, and whose sanctity never had a commencement. In like manner we must think of the Father and the Son, for the substance of the Trinity alone is of its own nature holy, and not by sanctification from without: for truly it is God alone who is always holy*.” “The true faith then, from which every falsehood and fallacy is banished, acknowledges one sole God in a holy and consubstantial Trinity;” and therefore “I believe that there is one God, the Creator and Maker of all things; and that the Word, which came forth from him, is God also, of one substance with the Father, eternal; and that, in these latter times, he took manhood of Mary; that he was crucified and arose again from the dead. I believe also in the Holy Ghost, who is eternal.” “Of the Father I believe

Deus qui est, & qui erat, & qui venturus est, Omnipotens. Qui enim venturus est omnipotens, quis est alius nisi Christus? Et sicut nemo debet offendi cum Deus sit Pater, quod etiam Salvator est Deus; ita & cum omnipotens Deus Pater, etiam nullus debet offendi quod etiam Filius omnipotens dicitur. Hoc modo namque verum erit illud quod ipse dicit ad Patrem, “quia omnia mea tua sunt, & omnia tua mea sunt, & glorificatus sum in eis,” Joan. xvii. 10. Si vero omnia quæ Patris sunt Christi sunt, inter omnia vero quæ sunt Patris est etiam omnipotens, (vide supra, p. 213) sine dubio etiam unigenitus Filius debet esse omnipotens ut omnia quæ habet Pater etiam Filius habeat. Et glorificatus sum, inquit, in eis. “In nomine enim Jesu, &c.” Philip. ii. 9. Origen. peri archôn, tom. I. p. 425.

* Puto ergo quod Sanctus Spiritus ita sanctus sit ut non sit sanctificatus. Non enim ei extrinsecus & aliunde accessit sanctificatio, quæ ante non fuerat, sed semper fuit sanctus, nec initium sanctitas ejus accepit. Similique modo de Patre & Filio intelligendum est. Sola enim Trinitatis substantia est, quæ non extrinsecus acceptâ sanctificatione, sed sui naturâ sit sancta.—Vere autem & semper sanctus solus est Deus. Orig. Hom. xi. in Numer. tom. I. p. 134.

believe that with him no alien substance sits enthroned, and that he hath no assessor besides the Son and Holy Ghost : for this blessed Trinity is of one substance and inseparable *. “Moreover I believe that, as there is but one fountain of Godhead in this Trinity, none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another †.” But, to the comprehension of these deep things of God, the human intellect, I acknowledge, is altogether inadequate, neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive them. To yield ourselves obedient to the faith, however, is our indispensable duty, and to believe, because the Word of God is our surety. “Let us therefore believe, so far as we are able, and call upon him to help our unbelief.” “Let us acknowledge our own insufficiency, and with prostrate supplications implore the Word, which is the only begotten Son of God, that, pouring himself by his grace into our understandings, he will condescend to illumine what is dark, to lay open the things which are environed, and to disclose the things which are secret ‡;” “that he will render our hearts fit dwelling places for the abode of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost

* “Ενα Θεόν κὲ κτίστην κὲ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι πεπίστευκα, κὲ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Θεὸν λόγον, ὁμοέσιον, αἰεὶ ὄντα, κὲ ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων καιρῶν ἀνδρώπων ἐκ Μαρίας ἀναλαβοῦσα, κὲ τέτον σαυρωθέντα, κὲ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν. Πιστεύω δὲ κὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, τῷ αἰεὶ ὄντι. Origen contra Marcionistas, sect. i.

“Ενα κὲ μόνον Θεὸν ὑποδεικνύουσα (πίστις) ἐν ἁγίᾳ κὲ ὁμοσίῳ τριάδι.—ὧ (τῷ Πατρί) ἐκ ὕλης σύνδρονος, ἐχ’ ἑτερόν τι, πλην τοῦ υἱοῦ, κὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ὁμοόσιος γὰρ, κὲ ἀχώριστος ἡ μακαρία τριάς. Ibidem, sub fin.

† Porro autem nihil in Trinitate majus minusve dicendum est, quum unius Divinitatis fons, nihil in his anterieus posteriusve intelligi potest. Orig. peri archôn, lib. i. cap. iii. tom. I. p. 427, & lib. ii. cap. ii.

‡ Certus sum humano ingenio vel sermone explicari non posse; nisi ipsum Verbum ac sapientiam, & justitiam qui est unigenitus Filius Dei, prostrati

Ghost *;" and "that our Lord Jesus may himself be our guide, and grant us to receive his heavenly kingdom. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen †."

With this creed, this prayer, and this doxology to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall close my enquiry into the faith of Origen: and, unless Mr. Lindsey avow his concurrence with all that I have here laid before the public, I must necessarily conclude that *Origen was not an Unitarian*.

But here Mr. Lindsey may put me to the same test, and declare that he will not acknowledge Origen to have been a *Trinitarian*, unless I shall accede to every extract which he can oppose to mine. Let him, however, not forget that I am now possessed of that advantageous station which Sceptics and Unitarians usually seize. He has for once incautiously advanced an affirmative. Let him maintain it. He may be surprized at the novel necessity of bestirring himself.—I have advanced nothing. I have not said that Origen was a *Trinitarian*. I am at my ease; and my indolent negative reduces him to his proofs.

But come, I scorn and I relinquish the mean superiority.—I admit that Origen has said, as Mr. Lindsey has

prostrati ac supplices deprecemur, qui per gratiam suam sensibus se nostris infundens, obscura illuminare, clausa patefacere, pandereque dignetur arcana; si tamen inveniamur eam dignè vel petere, vel quærere, vel pulsare, ut vel petentes accipere mereamur, vel quærentes invenire, vel pulsantibus jubeatur aperiri. Orig. peri archôn, lib. ii. cap. ix. tom. I. p. 445.

* Verum hæc & verè in scripturis dicuntur, in anima hominis Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum commorari. Origen, Hom. iii. in Jeremiam, tom. I. p. 370.

† Introducat nos illuc Dominus noster Jesus & percipere regnum suum cœleste concedat. Ipsi gloria in æterna secula seculorum, Amen. Orig. Hom. vii. in Numer. tom. I. p. 124.

has stated, (Apol. p. 142) that we are not to pray to Christ; but, to this single precept, I here confront not only the numerous recommendations of that father, but his uninterrupted practice of religious worship to our Lord *."—But rather than contend alone, where I may avail myself of so good an ally, let me here call in the assistance of his antient and almost cotemporary apologist Pamphilus.—It is true that Pamphilus has not directly taken this passage under his consideration, but he

* As these run altogether counter to this one passage, I should have conceived that it must be understood with some qualification, had I been even deprived of an opportunity of consulting the original; but I have consulted the original, and there find that this singular charge occurs in the midst of a multitude of critical refinements upon the proper and catechetical application of prayer. He distinguishes between Christ, as he is God and Man, and as he is, in the latter character, our Priest. As Priest and Man, therefore, he says we are not to worship him, but, through him, to transmit our prayers to God. "We worship one God and his one Son, who is his Word and his Image," says the same father to Celsus, in context with the passage quoted, p. 252 above, "offering up our supplication and doxologies with our utmost strength. To the God of the universe we address our prayers, through his only begotten Son, to whom we prefer them, beseeching him, who is the propitiation for our sins, that, as our High Priest, he will deign to offer our supplications, sacrifices, and intercessions to God over all." The extracts in p. 260 above are drawn from the work in which this prohibition appears.—But the justification of Origen is not my object. I have already said enough in his behalf. An imagination, without sufficient restraint from judgement, and which seldom lost sight of an idea, till, by division and subdivision, he has rendered it too minute for the sight of his reader, has certainly betrayed him into some extravagancies. But he tells us himself that many of his writings were only exercises of his fancy, and had not been intended for public inspection. It were therefore an unjust severity to this good man's memory, to make him responsible even for the errors into which he actually did fall; how much more unjust then to impute, as a crime, the interpolations of his heretical enemies, who endeavoured to ruin the credit of his name, or, not finding this an easy task, to assume its weight to the establishment of their own tenets.—Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia, in the fourth century, has also maintained the cause of Origen, and written a little Tract expressly upon the interpolations made by Heretics in the writings of that father.—See also Cave's Life of Origen.

he has made it so evident that the sentiments of Origen were inconsistent with the prohibition, that, if we do not conclude it an insertion made after the days of Pamphilus, nay of Rufinus, we must of necessity acknowledge that it has been cancelled by its own author; repealed, as it were, and rendered utterly null and void by the force of his innumerable assertions to the contrary.

PAMPHILUS, Presbyter of Cesarea, was himself an eminent martyr, having suffered with great constancy under Diocletian, A. D. 303, for the religion of the gospel. This excellent man, for such Eusebius describes him, saw with admiration and reverence the true character of Origen, and with proportionable resentment declares that “a sort of insanity has gone abroad, and that many, while they possess his vast volumes replete with utility and instruction, because they yet contain a few scattered expressions, at which only the weak, or rather the malevolent, can take offence, omit and neglect all those passages which even themselves acknowledge adapted to edification and instruction. In contradiction to their duty, they refuse the advantages which it is in their power to derive from him, but with indefatigable diligence glean and lay up only such things as may afford matter for calumny and misrepresentation *.” They lay heresies

* In alios vero novi furoris morbus & inauditæ cladis incescit insania: cum tam multa volumina referta totius utilitatis & instructionis habeantur, & satis rara & perpaucæ fortè loca sint in quibus vel imperitiores quique, vel (quod verius) malevoli posse sibi videantur offendi: omnia quidem illa quæ & catholica & ad ædificationem animæ, atque sententiæ instructionem etiam ipsi apta fatentur, omittunt & negligunt, nec aliquid inde, unde possunt & debent, proficere volunt: ea vera sola quæ ad calumniam proficiunt, summo studio ediscunt. Pamphili Apologia pro Origine, cum operibus Originis a Genebrardo, Parisiis edit. Rufino interprete, tom. I. p. 479.

sies to the charge of Origen, who retorts the accusation, and tells them that “ he is the Heretic who entertains false doctrines concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, whether he agree with those who say that he is the Son of Joseph and Mary, (*see p. 180 above*) or with those who deny him to be the First-born, the God of every creature, (Colos. i. 15) the Word, the Wisdom, which is the beginning of the ways of God, before his works of old ; set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was, and brought forth before the mountains were settled :” such also he pronounces heretics “ who assert that Christ is only a man *.” For Origen, says Pamphilus, held that “ the Son was begotten of the Father, and that he is of one substance with the Father, but different and distinct from created substance † ; that the only begotten God, our Saviour, alone was generated of the Father, and is his Son by nature, not adoption, born, as it were, of the mind of the Father itself. For the divine nature, that is, the nature of the unbegotten Father, is not divisible, that we should conceive the Son brought forth by division or diminution of his substance ‡.” “ The only begotten Son alone is the Son of

* Hæreticus habendus est, qui de Domino nostro Jesu Christo falsi aliquid senserit, sive secundum eos, qui dicunt eum ex Joseph & Mariâ natum, sicut sunt Ebionitæ & Valentiniani, sive secundum eos qui Primogenitum eum negant, & totius creaturæ Deum. & Verbum & Sapientiam quæ est initium viarum Dei, antequam aliquid fieret, ante secula fundatam, atque ante omnes colles generatam. Prov viii. 24. 25, sed hominem eum solum dicentes. Origenis verba ex Pamph. Apologia pro Orig. p. 481.

† Ex Deo Patre natus est Filius, & unius est cum Patre substantiæ ; alienus vero a substantiâ creaturarum. Ibidem, p. 486.

‡ Unigenitus ergo Deus Salvator noster solus a Patre generatus, naturâ & non adoptione Filius est, natus autem ex ipsâ Patris mente. Non enim divisibilis est divina natura, id est, ingeni Patris, ut putemus vel divisione, vel imminutione substantiæ ejus Filium esse progenitum. Ibidem, p. 487.

of the Father by nature. "The only one true God, therefore, hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach," 1 Tim. vi. 16: *the one true God*, says the apostle, lest we should conceive the name of the true God applicable to many. So also they "who receive the spirit of adoption of sons, by which they cry Abba, Father," Rom. viii. 15, Gal. iv. 5, are indeed the sons of God, but not in like manner as the only begotten Son; for the only begotten Son is by nature the eternal and inseparable Son, while others have only, by receiving him, received power themselves to become the sons of God, John i. 12. Wherefore, as great as is the difference between the true God, and those to whom it is declared, "I have said ye are gods," even so great is the difference between the true Son, and those who have heard, "ye are all exalted sons *." "From which declarations I conceive it abundantly and sufficiently proved now, that Origen considered the Son to be born of the very substance of God; that is, that he is consubstantial, or of the same identical substance with the Father; that he is not a creature, neither by adoption a Son, but by nature, and generated of the Father himself †."

I

* Unigenitus Filius Salvator noster, qui solus ex Patre natus est, solus naturâ non adoptione Filius est. Unus ergo verus Deus solus habet immortalitatem, lucem habitat inaccessibilem. Unus, ait, verus Deus, ne scilicet multis veri Dei nomen convenire credamus. Ita ergo & hi qui accipiunt spiritum adoptionis filiorum in quo clamant Abba Pater, filii quidem Dei sunt, sed non sicut unigenitus Filius. Unigenitus enim natura Filius, & semper & inseparabiliter Filius est. Cæteri vero, pro eo quod susceperunt in se Filium Dei, potestatem habent filii Dei fieri, non tamen ex nativitate ut unigenitus Filius. Propter quod quantam differentiam verus Deus habet ad eos quibus dicitur, "Ego dixi, dii estis;" tantam differentiam habet verus Filius ad eos qui audiunt "filii excelsi omnes." Origen. Verb. ex Pamph. Apol. p. 486.

† Satis manifeste, ut opinor, & valde evidenter ostensum est, quod Filium Dei de ipsâ Dei substantiâ natum dixerit (Origenes), id est, *ὁμοούσιον*, quod

I had formerly laid it down that "he must be a perverse interpreter who could understand the words of St. Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. vi. 16) in any other sense than that of a declaration of our Saviour's exalted glory," (Script. Confut. p. 134) and I do not find myself at present much inclined to retract the opinion; though I lament that there should subsist any person to whom the title is in its utmost severity applicable: but such a perverse interpreter has appeared; and my Remarker, with the renunciation of Christ, renouncing every degree of Christian moderation, has, in terms of the most virulent obloquy, reproached me for the application of this sublime doxology to our Lord Jesus Christ: "the King of kings and Lord of lords," Rev. xix. 16. I shall not enter into a discussion of the passage here, nor analyze the sentence to prove from its structure that our Lord and Saviour is the blessed and only Potentate named by the apostle. It was not from the structure of the sentence that I formerly drew this inference. The context at large suggested, and still supports, the application. That Origen drew the same inference, and, from the general tenour of St. Paul's charge to Timothy, considered our Lord as that Being "who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto," is to me a sufficient indemnification, and affords an ample proof that I have not, through ignorance of the Greek language, misinterpreted the apostle. "For the sake of such as have put on the new man, who is created after God," says the same father, "has he, who was in the form of God, made himself of no reputation," that he might not "dwell only in the light which no man can approach unto,"

quod est, ejusdem cum Patre substantiæ; & non esse creaturam, neque per adoptionem, sed naturâ Filium verum, & ex ipso Patre generatum. Pamph. ipsius Verba de Orig. in Apol. p. 486.

unto," and remain only in the form of God, but the Word was made flesh *." For unless "the anointed Son of God; when he was in the form of God, had made himself of no reputation, rendering "his name as ointment poured forth," and emptying himself of that fulness wherein he had before existed, had poured forth the ointment, that is, the fulness of the divine Spirit, none could have been able to receive him in "the fulness of the Godhead †." For the Father and the

* Μῦρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὀνόμα σῶ. Διὰ τῆτο νεάνιδες ἡγαπήσαν σε.

C. Cant. i. 3. Hæ autem (adolescentulæ) sunt isti novum hominem induentes, qui secundum Deum creatus est. Propter istas ergo adolescentulas, & in augmentis vitæ & profectibus positas "exinanivit se ille qui erat in formâ Dei," ut fieret unguentum exinanitum nomen ejus; ut non jam inaccessible lucem tantummodo hab taret, 1 Tim. vi. 16, & "in forma Dei" permaneret; Philipp. ii. 6, 7, 8, sed Verbum caro fieret; Joann. i. 14; quo possent istæ adolescentulæ non solum diligere sed & trahere eum ad se. Origen. Homil. i. in Cantic. Canticorum, tom. I. p. 318.

† "Unigenitus Dei Filius cum in forma Dei esset exinanivit seipsum & formam servi accepit," Philipp. ii. 6, 7, 8, exinanivit autem de plenitudine sine dubio in quâ erat, illi ergo qui dicunt, quia "de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus, (ἐκ τῆ πληρώματος, &c.) ipsi sunt adolescentulæ quæ de eâ plenitudine, ex quâ se ille exinanivit & factum est unguentum exinanitum nomen ejus, percipientes, dicunt "post te in odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus." (C. Cantic. i. 4, secundum Septuaginta) Nisi enim exinanisset unguentum, hoc est, plenitudinem divini Spiritûs, & humiliasset se utque ad formam servi, capere eum nullus in illâ "Divinitatis plenitudine" potuisset, Coloss. ii. 9. Ibidem, p. 320.

That I may avoid any return to the consideration of this text, I shall add the following passages to the note.

The Lord is the Wisdom and Power of God, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily: for we know Jesus Christ to be God."— Dominus qui est Sapientia, qui est Virtus Dei, in quo plenitudo Divinitatis in habitat corporaliter. Jesum Christum scimus Deum. Origen. Homil. i. in Jerem. tom. I. p. 361.

"The grace of the Holy Spirit was not given to Christ as to the prophets, but the substantial fulness of the Word himself of God dwelt in him: as the apostle says, "In whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead

the Son are inseparable and indivisible. In essence and substance they are one, “in whom dwelleth the fulness

head bodily,” Coloss. ii. 9.—Non gratia Spiritus sicut prophetis; ei data est, sed ipsius Verbi Dei in eo substantialis inerat plenitudo; sicut & apostolus dicit: “in quo habitat omnis plenitudo Divinitatis corporaliter.” Origen. peri archôn, lib. ii. cap. vi. tom. I. p. 441.

Having so very frequently had occasion to advert to Philipp. ii. 6, 7, 8, I have forborne to use many strong assertions made by Origen, merely because that passage is contained in them. This father considered it as an explicit testimony borne to the Godhead of Jesus Christ, and has accordingly above an hundred times produced it as the ground of his own belief in that *sine quâ non* of the Christian faith.—In proof of what I advance, I shall here annex a few farther instances, and so take my final leave of a subject which, I fear, has but too frequently returned upon my reader. Its own importance, and the zealous misrepresentation of Unitarians, must be my excuse. For whenever it has returned, it has brought with it a proof of the sense in which antiquity received it.

“God is said to descend, whenever he deigns to extend his providential care to human frailty. But this must be understood in a more special manner concerning our Lord and Saviour, “who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation, taking upon him the form of a servant.” He descended therefore. For no man hath ascended into heaven but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven. John iii. 13. The Lord descended therefore to this end, not only to extend his care, but even to carry the burden of our infirmities, Isaiah liii. 4, Matth. viii. 17; for “he took upon him the form of a servant;” and he who is by nature invisible, instructed as he is equal with the Father, assumed a visible figure, and “was found in fashion as a man.”—Descendere dicitur Deus quando curam humanæ fragilitatis habere dignatur. Quod specialius de Domino ac Salvatore sentiendum est, qui non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, sed, &c. descendit ergo: neque alius ascendit in cælum, &c. Joann. iii. 13. Descendit ergo Dominus non solum curare, sed & portare quæ nostrâ sunt; formam namque servi accepit, & cum ipse invisibilis sit naturæ, utpote æqualis Patri, habitum tamen visibilem suscepit, & repertus est habitu ut homo. Orig. Homil. iv. in Genes. cap. xvi. tom. I. p. 12.

The Son of God, emptying himself of his equality with the Father, and shewing to us the way of knowledge, becomes the express similitude of his substance, that we, who could not look upon the glory of his wonderful light, when *eradiating* from the immensity of his Godhead,

seeing

fulneis of the Godhead." "And there never was time when the Son was not. But when we speak thus,

seeing that he is made the cognizable or comprehensible brightness of his glory, may, by the view of this brightness, thro' habit become capable of looking on the divine light." See above, p. 16, 113, 158.—Exinaniens se Filius æqualitate Patris, & viam nobis cognitionis ostendens, figura expressa substantiæ ejus efficitur: Ut qui in magnitudine Deitatis suæ positam gloriam miræ lucis non poteramus aspicere, per hoc, quod nobilis splendor efficitur, intuendæ lucis divinæ viam per splendoris capiamus aspectum. Orig. peri archôn, lib. i. tom. I. p. 424.

"We stand wrapt in astonishment that that nature, which is over all, rendering himself of no reputation, should, from the state of his majesty, be made man, and converse among men."—Cum summâ admiratione obstupescimus quod eminens omnium ista natura exinaniens se de statu majestatis suæ homo factus sit, & inter homines conversatus. Orig. peri archôn, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 441.

"Christ, though he committed no sin, yet was he made sin for us, 2. Corinth. v. 21; who, while he was yet in the form of God, submits to be in the form of a servant; though he was immortal, dies; though impassible, suffers; though invisible, is seen; and because that death and every other frailty is introduced into our flesh by reason of sin, he was himself made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, without doubt, suffering for our sins and bearing our infirmities, he offered his spotless flesh as an immaculate sacrifice to God."—"Christus peccatum quidem non fecit, peccatum tamen pro nobis factum est." Dum qui erat in formâ Dei, in forma servi esse dignatur; dum qui immortalis est moritur, & impassibilis patitur, & invisibilis videtur, & quia nobis hominibus vel mors vel aliqua omnis fragilitas in carne ex peccati conditione superducta est; ipse etiam qui in similitudinem hominum factus est, & habitu repertus ut homo, sine dubio, pro peccato quod ex nobis susceperat, quia peccata nostra portavit, vitulum immaculatum (Levit. i. 3,) hoc est, carnem incontaminatam obtulit hostiam Deo. Orig. Homil. iii. in Levit. tom. I. p. 68.

"When he was God, for our sake he was made man, and humbled himself even unto death, wherefore he is highly exalted."—"But the Word, which was in the beginning with God, being himself God, cannot admit of exaltation; but the exaltation which was conferred, was conferred upon the Son of man who glorified God by his death; and was this, that he should no longer be another and distinct from, but one and the same with, the WORD."—"For the glory which accrued to him on account of the suffering of death for all men, was not ascribed to the Only-

thus, we must be heard with indulgence. Such language refers to time, the existence of that Being whose duration relates to eternity. For whatever is said of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, must be understood to extend above and beyond all time, all ages, and even all eternity; for this Trinity alone extends beyond not only what can be measured by time, but whatever our limited intellect can conceive of eternity. To the existence of every being, the Trinity alone excepted, time may be and is commensurate ;”

Only-begotten, whose nature is incapable of death, neither to the wisdom, sanctity, or other divine attributes of Jesus, but it is ascribed to the Man who was the Son of man, ‘ made of the seed of David according to the flesh,’ Rom. i. 3. Wherefore he saith himself, ‘ Now is *the Son of man* glorified,’ John xiii. 31. And thus it is, as I conceive, that ‘ God hath highly exalted him’ who became obedient unto death, even the death upon the cross.” — Qui propter nos, cum Deus esset, homo factus est, & humiliavit se usque ad mortem, extollitur & effertur. (Orig. Homil. iii. in Judic. tom. I. p. 212.) — Illud Verbum, quod erat in principio apud Deum Deus, non recipit exaltari; cæteram exaltatio Filii hominis, sibi facta glorificanti Deum per suam ipsius mortem, hæc fuit, ut non amplius ipse aliud esset a Verbo, sed idem cum ipso. — Gloria contingens ob mortem pro hominibus non pertinebat ad Unigenitum, qui natura mori aptus non erat, neque ad sapientiam, & pietatem & quæcunque alia esse dicuntur in Jesu diviniora; sed ad Hominem qui erat etiam Filius hominis, “ genitus ex semine David secundum carnem.” Quocirca quidem dixit, “ Nunc glorificatus Filius hominis.” Nunc etiam opinor Deus exaltavit factum obedientem usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Origen. in Evang. Joann. tom. II. p. 271.

Let not my reader conceive that I pause here thro’ want of additional matter; I might encrease it tenfold; but I flatter myself that I have laid before him at least enough to prove my point; and this must be acknowledged by any who shall object that I have been superfluous, that is, have done more than enough. I have taken the pains to examine nearly all the passages in the fathers of the first three centuries which refer to this text, and now declare, upon the whole, that I have not the smallest doubt remaining upon my mind that it is justly translated in our English Bible, and that the interpretation which I have myself given above is in every respect strictly right.

furate * ;” Space may be and is commonurate, but to space and circumscription the Son must not be referred. The Godhead of the Son fills up infinity: “For by the Son were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist,” Coloss. i. 16, 17. See above, p. 261.

I

* Quomodo ergo potest dici, quia fuit aliquando quando non fuit Filius? —re & substantia unum sunt in quibus plenitudo Divinitatis.—Hoc autem ipsum quod dicimus, quia nunquam fuit quando non fuit, cum venia audiendum est. Nam & hæc ipsa nomina temporalis vocabuli significantiam gerunt, id est quando vel nunquam. Supra omne autem tempus, & supra omnia secula, & supra omnem æternitatem intelligenda sunt ea quæ de Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto dicuntur. Hæc enim sola Trinitas est quæ omnem sensum intelligentiæ non solum temporalis verum etiam æternalis excedit. Cætera vero, quæ sunt extra Trinitatem, in seculis & in temporibus metienda sunt. Hunc igitur Filium Dei, secundum quod Verbum est Deus quod in principio apud Deum, Joann. i. 1. Nemo convenienter putabit in loco aliquo contineri.—Absurdum namque est dicere, quia in Petro quidem & in Paulo erat Christus, Galat. ii. 20, & in Michæle archangelo & in Gabriele non erat. Ex quo manifeste deprehenditur quia divinitas Filii Dei non in loco aliquo concluderetur, alioquin in ipso tantum fuisset, & in alio non fuisset; sed secundum incorporeæ naturæ majestatem, cum a nullo loco concludatur, in nullo rursus deesse intelligitur.—His igitur nobis de æternitatis ratione breviter repetitis, consequens est illud etiam breviter admonere, quod “per Filium creata dicuntur omnia quæ in cælis sunt & quæ in terrâ, visibilia & invisibilia, sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates, omnia per ipsum & in ipso creata sunt, & ipse est ante omnes & omnia illi consent qui est caput.” Coloss. i. 16. Quibus consona etiam Joannes in Evangelio dicit quia omnia, &c. Joann. i. 3.

Post hæc admonebimus de adventu corporali & incarnatione unigeniti Filii Dei. De quo ita sentiendum est, ut neque aliquid divinitatis in Christo defuisse credatur, & nulla penitus a paternâ substantiâ, quæ ubique est, facta putetur esse divisio. Origen. peri archôn, lib. iv. Anacephalæosis, tom. I. p. 473.

Justin Martyr has used the following similar language concerning our Saviour: Ο δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνης, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱὸς, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ συνῶν, καὶ γενομένων. Apol. i. p. 44.

I have laid these passages together that I may at once obviate the numerous Unitarian criticisms which have passed upon Coloss. i. 15, 16, and ii. 9. I do not indeed expect that my Remarker will desist from misinterpretation, because I have confronted the authority of Origen to his objections. The public, however, for the benefit of which I have laid myself under the present burden, will probably decide in favour of a Greek father against an English grammarist. My "reputation as a scholar" I have very little at heart, and therefore stand unaffected by the gross insults of this rude man. Let him now turn his obtuse artillery on Origen; for, though probably not "drawn into them by the English translation," that venerable father has afforded me his concurrence in my "innumerable blunders."

I have now made it manifest that, to Pamphilus, Origen did not appear to be an Unitarian: but let us say that Pamphilus was mistaken; I may yet of a certainty assume the authority of this Antenicene martyr himself to my side of the question, and accordingly now declare that Pamphilus was not an Unitarian.

But I have so little doubt concerning the Trinitarian tenets of Origen, that I will no longer hesitate to make the same decision concerning him. If a doubt could possibly remain because of that single passage which Mr. Lindsey has appealed to, let it vanish before the multitudinous contradictions which this solitary precept has received from Origen himself. Let us not concur with "that maxim which is common to all Heretics, who, if a few expressions opposite to the general tenour can be found, invariably maintain the less against the more."

more *.” Has Origen acknowledged that the Son is omnipotent, eternal, omnipresent, omniscient; from the Father and the Holy Ghost indivisible in Godhead; and, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, coequal, coeternal, and consubstantial? has Origen confessed, with zeal confessed that he knew our Lord Jesus Christ to be God, and yet forbid the adoration of our Lord Jesus Christ? Be it so. Let us admit the fact, and grant that the prohibition has genuinely flowed from his pen, yet will I not allow the authority of Origen’s concurrence to that man who shall one moment hesitate to concur with Origen in the following prayers: “That we may be a fruitful and not a dry tree, and that the ax which is threatened in the gospel may not be laid to our root, let us beseech the Lord Jesus Christ with his Father; to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen †.” And “that, standing in the temple and embracing the Son of God, we may become worthy of pardon and amendment of life, let us implore the almighty God, let us implore the infant Jesus, whom we desire to address and hold in our arms; to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen †.”

GRE-

Proprium hoc est omnium hæreticorum; nam quia pauca sunt quæ in sylva inveniri possunt, pauca adversus plura defendunt. Tertull. adv. Praxean, cap. ii. p. 505.

† Ut germinans lignum & non siccum efficiamur, ut nunquam ad radices nostras ponatur securis quæ in evangelio prædicatur, attentius Jesum Christum Dominum cum Patre suo precemur, cui est gloria & imperium in secula seculorum. Amen. Origen. Homil. xii. in Ezechiel, tom. I. p. 415.

† Nos stantes in templo & tenentes Dei Filium, amplexantesque eum, digni remissione, & protectione ad meliora simus, oremus omnipotentem Deum, oremus & ipsum parvulum Jesum, quem alloqui & tenere desideramus in brachiis: cui est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Origen. ad fin. Homil. xv. in Lucam. tom II. p. 143.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, a native and afterwards Bishop of the city of Neocæsarea in Cappadocia, on the death of his father, who was a Gentile, became a convert to Christianity. He placed himself under the tuition of Origen, on whom he has bestowed the highest encomiums. He was very eminent for his piety and the sedulous discharge of his episcopal duties. The relation of those miracles which are ascribed to this father forms no part of my plan. It is enough for me to state the time in which he flourished, and that, having absconded during the Decian massacre, he died a natural death, A. D. 264.

He has left behind him a brief summary of the Christian religion, which is so explicit, that I shall content myself with this single work, and make no farther extracts from the writings of this father.—By this creed alone it is sufficiently determined that Gregory of Neocæsarea was not an Unitarian :

“ There is one God the Father of the living **WORD**, the substantial Wisdom and Might, the eternal Image (of the Father) ; perfect, the Begetter of him who is perfect ; the Father of the only begotten Son.—There is one Lord ; One of One, God of God ; the Image and Form of the Godhead ; the effectual **WORD** ; the circumferent Wisdom by which all things consist ; the creative Power by which all things were made ; the true Son of the true Father ; invisible of him who is invisible ; incorruptible of him who is incorruptible ; immortal of him who is immortal ; and eternal of him who is eternal.—There is one Holy Ghost, having his subsistence of God, and appearing manifest to men through

If any farther vindication be thought necessary, see the London edition of Origen. *de Oratione*, 1728, cum notis subjunctis ab editore Gulielmo Reading, A. M. 4to.—See also the Life of Origen by Dr. Care,

through the Son; perfect life, the image of the perfect Son; the cause of life to those who live; the holy fountain, sanctity itself, and author of sanctification; in whom God the Father, who is over all and in all, is made manifest, and God the Son who is through all. —And these are a perfect TRINITY, which neither in glory, eternity, or dominion is divided or separated from itself *.”

The wide-wasting arm of a capricious tyrant had now stained the face of the whole Roman territory with Christian blood. Spreading desolation and terror, he aimed at nothing less than the total obliteration of the gospel. An effect, however, unlooked for awaited his disappointed measures; and, to use a phrase not un-

* "Εἰς Θεὸς Πατὴρ λόγος ζωῆς, σοφίας ὑπερβάτης καὶ δυνάμειος, καὶ χαρακτηριστὸν αἰδίου· τελείως, τελείως γενέτωρ· Πατὴρ υἱὸς μονογενὴς.—Εἰς κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μένους, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεῶν· χαράκτῆρος καὶ ἔκων θεότητος, λόγος ἐνεργὸς, σοφία τῆς τῶν ὅλων συστάσεως περιεκτικῇ καὶ δυνάμει τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητικῇ, υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινὸς Πατὴρος· ἀοράτως ἀοράτε, καὶ ἀφθάρτως ἀφθάρτοι, καὶ ἀδανάτως ἀδανάτοι, καὶ αἰδίου αἰδίου.—Καὶ ἐν Πνεύμα ἁγίον, ἐκ Θεῶν τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχον, καὶ δι' υἱὸν πεφηνός, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἔκων τῷ υἱῷ τελείως τελείως ζωὴ, ζωῶν αἰῶνα· πηγὴ ἁγία, ἁγιότης, ἁγιασμὸς χορηγός· ἐν ᾧ φανερῶται Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ υἱός, ὁ διὰ πάντων.—Τριάς τελεία, δόξη, καὶ αἰδιότης, καὶ βασιλεία, μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριωμένη.

Dr. Cave has printed this creed in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, which I only mention here that I may guard against such doubts as naturally attend upon facts connected with miraculous circumstances. The authentic transmits from Gregory to us may very reasonably be admitted, when the revelation from heaven to Gregory may perhaps be as reasonably rejected. There subsists no such intimate connection between them, that the fall of either position must necessarily involve that of the other.

uncommon with the writers of antiquity, the blood of the saints became the seed of the church. Like salt, which, though in reality it fertilize the soil, was yet erroneously sowed by the antients upon the ruins of a subverted citadel, as emblematic or productive of sterility, this “salt of the earth” was profusely disseminated by the hand of Pagan intolerance; but God preserving to it its natural savour, caused it to invigorate an abundant increase. The Gentile ARNOBIUS beheld, but instead of regarding the ingenious torments which were inflicted for the extirpation of christianity as an object of terror, he contemplated the fortitude with which they were sustained, and, persuaded that this was derived from no ordinary source, determined to enquire into the principles of a religion adapted to inspire it. He accordingly applied himself to an examination of the Christian tenets, and the authority upon which they were entertained. Enquiry was followed by conviction, and conviction by an immediate engagement in the afflicted cause. The heaviest burden which could be imposed upon a transitory life, when weighed against the far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, appeared, in his eyes, now no more than the light affliction of a moment, 2 Cor. iv. 17. Taking therefore, for an example of patience, the martyrs who had suffered for the name of our Redeemer, in bold defiance of Diocletian, and the ruthless zeal of Pagan superstition, he embraced, and resolutely defended, the persecuted doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ *.

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In

* For a few out of the multitudinous murders perpetrated by the authority of Diocletian, see Nicephori Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. vi.—Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. i. cap. xi.—Lactantii de Morte Persec.—Sulpicii Severi, lib. ii. p. 98.—See also the entire first book of the author under consideration. The subject is horrid, or I might refer to the numerous descriptions which record the devices employed by this detested tyrant for aggravating the pains of death. They occur but too frequently, and with

In the first book of his *Treat against the Gentiles*, he enumerates the various motives which they had assigned for the persecution of christianity. He states their objections as delivered by themselves, and to each annexes his own reply. But as a jealousy for their gods was the master-spring of Pagan animosity, instead of entering into a formal defence of his own cause, he prefers recrimination, and objects to the vanity of theirs. He ridicules the absurdity of those tenets, for the maintenance of which they embraced these sanguinary measures; and, though he does in some degree advert to the superior excellency of the gospel, yet his main purpose is to reprove the intolerance of polytheism, rather than to vindicate the innocence of christianity.

From this circumstance, it appears that no copious profession of his faith is to be expected. The following incidental passage, however, affords one sufficiently explicit:

He contends that “the gods of Rome have no reason to be offended at the worship of Christ, because of his human birth and ignominious death upon the cross. They have no reason to be offended, that he was acknowledged to be now alive, believed to be God, and adored with daily supplications. In the prejudice of what God is Christ worshipped? When multitudes, which you honour as deities yourselves, have had an infamous origin, pursued a criminal course of life, and come to an untimely end, why should your ears be wounded at hearing that Christ is worshipped and received by us as God? “But you worship a man,”
is

too many marks of authenticity and truth, in the *antient* histories of the declining Roman empire.

is the burden of your accusation: suppose it true, yet (even on your own principles) he ought by us to be confessed our God, on account of the many liberal gifts which have proceeded from him. But, seeing that he is really and indisputably God, do you expect from us a denial that he is the object of our most zealous adoration, the acknowledged head of our body? What! cries the angry bigot, this Christ God! God, we answer, he is, and God of the internal faculties. And shall he be deemed a mortal being? shall he, at the voice of whose power disease and infirmity withdrew, be considered as but one of our generation? shall he, at whose bidding the seas and winds were rebuked, at whose command the long-departed spirit returned to the body, at whose call the dead came forth from their graves, and who, on the third day, burst the bands of death himself; shall he be considered as but one of our generation?—Nor yet by secondary means, or the observance of ceremonials, did Christ perform these works. Those mighty wonders which he wrought, he effected by the mere power of his own name.—He is the high God, sent forth by the Omnipotent, the God by whom we are preserved, and who causeth us to dwell in safety*.” See above, p. 240 and 256.

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* Sed non (inquit) idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quòd omnipotentem colatis Deum; sed quòd hominem natum, & (quod personis infame est vilius) crucis supplicio interemptum, & Deum fuisse contenditis, & superesse adhuc creditis, & quotidianis supplicationibus aderatis. Si vo is jucundum est, amici, edisserate quinam sunt hi dii, qui a nobis Christum coli, suam credant ad injuriam pertinere. Janus Janiculi conditor? Diana & Apollo, circumlati per fugas matris, atque in insulis errantibus vix tuti? Thebanus, aut Tyrius Hercules, hic in finibus epultus Hispaniæ, Flammi alter concematus Ætne? Venus intestini decoris publicatrix, &c. &c. &c.? Hinc ergo Christum coli, & a nobis accipi, & existimari pro numine vulneratis accipiunt auribus?—Natum hominem colimus! quid enim? vos hominem nullum colitis natum? non enim & alium? non innumeros alios? quinimmo non omnes, quos jam temporis habetis

This single passage so fully demonstrates the faith of its author, that farther argument is unnecessary to prove that Arnobius was not an Unitarian.

To the name of CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage, the world has lately been introduced. How far his character and conduct have been justly delineated, it is not my province to enquire. I am contented that a fervent zeal to unite, shall still be construed into an artful ambition to rule the church of Christ; that the strenuous effort to check the growth of error, shall still be

habetis vestris, mortalium sustulistis ex numero, & cælo syderibusque donatis?—Nihilo minus tamen nati hominis objectatis cultum; res agitis satis injustas, ut id in nobis constituatis esse damnabile, quod & ipsi vos jactitatis; & quæ vobis licere permittitis, consimiliter aliis licitum esse nolitis.—Natum hominem colitis! etiam si esset id verum, (locis ut in superioribus dictum est) tamen pro multis, & tam liberalibus donis quæ ab eo profecta in nobis sunt, Deus dici appellarique deberet. Cum verò Deus sit re certâ, & sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quàm maxime illum a nobis coli, & præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus. & percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus, & interiorum potentiarum Deus.—Ergo ille mortalis, aut unus fuit è nobis, cujus imperium, cujus vocem, popularibus & quotidianis verbis missam, Valetudines, morbi, febres, atque alia corporum cruciamenta fugiebant?—Unus fuit è nobis, qui redire in corpora jamdudum animas præcipiebat efflatas? prodire ab aggeribus conditos?—Atqui constitit Christum sine ullis adminiculis rerum, sine ullius ritûs observatione, vel lege omnia illa, quæ fecit, nominis sui possibilitate fecisse.—Deus ille sublimis fuit, Deus radice ab intimâ, Deus ab incognitis regnis, & ab omnium principe Deus sospitator est missus. Arnob. adv. Gentes, lib. i.

This last title Arnobius gives to our Lord, in opposition to Jupiter, to whom it had been ascribed by the Gentiles, and from whom he now transfers it to its proper owner. I have omitted to translate or transcribe the very numerous instances of our Saviour's miracles, and of Pagan deities, which our author has produced as examples of the divine power of one, and the wretched absurdity of the other. They were altogether unnecessary to my purpose. He has indeed multiplied them to a degree that seems as if, even in his own time, they must have been superfluous.

be construed into the claim or exercise of an usurped prerogative. I have no immediate motive to deny, that the utmost felicity of human life is constituted by the mitigation of exile, and the safety of a christian bishop judiciously exemplified in the proscription, the banishment, and the murder of Cyprian. The tenets, not the virtues, of the early Christians, form the subject of the present enquiry; and, to the ascertainment of the former, the vindication of the latter is by no means necessary. Let persecution continue to enjoy the advocacy of a new-found apologist, and, assuming the symbols of justice, inflict a merited punishment on the guilt of christianity, I am not now concerned to repel the blow; I have not undertaken to exculpate the members, but to investigate and promulge the doctrine of the primitive church.

The establishment of dates, however, is within my province, and therefore it is necessary that the merit of killing Cyprian, since meritorious we are taught to conceive it, should be resumed from Decius, to whom it has been erroneously ascribed, and restored to its proper owner the emperor Valerian. But where that humility with which this martyr professed the hope of eternal glory to be his sole motive for preferring death to the abjuration of his faith in Christ, is represented as mere affectation, there I acquiesce; nay, I must accede; for, upon setting aside the testimony of every antient record, it appears, upon the stronger evidence of modern suggestion, (and who can resist it?) that he was instigated to extend his neck to the stroke of a common executioner by that far more adequate principle, the most aspiring temporal ambition *.

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* See Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I. p. 546.—Vide Cypriani Opera propè passim, præsertim ad Demetrianum lib. p. 193.

This “priest of God and of Christ,” as PONTIUS, his martyrologist, using the language of St. John, has termed him †, having either absented himself through the apprehensions of falling a victim to the zealous superstition of Decius, or being compelled to absence under a judgment of exile, was, for a considerable time, reduced to the hard necessity of administering his pastoral function by letter. The distracted state of a persecuted church required a steady exertion of his authority. The confirmation of the timid, the restitution of the lapsed, and the suppression of some innovations, which his presence would probably have prevented, required his strictest attention: and both the language and argument which he has made use of to these several purposes, evince his fears that they might not prove effectual. He saw, from a distance, that division was introduced among those who were committed to his charge, and that, forgetting their absent pastor, many were drawn aside to follow other leaders: desirous, therefore, that the whole body, fitly joined together, should again be compacted in the unity of the faith, he transfused the ardour of his mind into his writings, and endeavoured to render his animated page a serviceable representative of himself.

It is scarce necessary, therefore, to add, that he is a voluminous writer, and that he has made frequent and ample professions of his faith. From his primitive pages, however, I shall content myself with making but a few conclusive extracts, having already adduced the authority of Cyprian to the establishment of many texts

† Dei & Christi pontifex. Pontii de vitâ Cypriani, p. 5, & *postea*, p. 9, Dei & Christi princeps.—See Rev. xx. 6, and v. 10. This Pontius was a Deacon at Carthage, and, according to his own account, enjoyed the intimacy of Cyprian.

texts which the unitarian scepticism of the eighteenth century has been pleased to contest §.

In a treatise written against the Jews, he formally undertakes the proof of our Lord's divinity. To this end, he draws together a great number of passages from the scriptures ||. Our Saviour's assertion in the apocalypse, that "I am alpha and omega", he quotes in terms exactly corresponding with those which we receive as the genuine production of the apostle's pen *. He produces the address of Thomas, on being satisfied of his Master's identity, as an attestation of that apostle's belief that Jesus Christ was "his Lord and his God †." And, esteeming it an incontrovertible argument of our Redeemer's godhead, he relies upon that testimony which is borne by the almighty Father himself to the glory of the ascending Son, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," &c. Psalm xlv. 8. Heb. i. 8. ‡ Nay, but, cries the Unitarian, does it appear too from Cyprian's Latin version of this text, that the name of God is written vocatively? I admit that it does not; but it does from the argumentation of a Jew, who told Origen, that because God was here addressed by name,

Christ

§ See above, p. 31, 122, 158, 204.

|| Psalm xxv. 4—xlvi. 10—lxviii. 4. Isaiah xxxv. 3—xl. 3—xlv. 4—lxiii. 9. Baruc. iii. 35. Hosea xi. 9. Zechar. x. 11. Matth. i. 23. Luc. i. 67—ii. 10. Joann. i. 1, &c. &c. Rom. ix. 5. Vide Cyprian. adv. Judæos, lib. ii. cap. vi. & sequent. Vide supra, p. 31.

* Apoc. i. 8—xxi. 6—xxii. 13. Ibid. Origen has also declared this text to have been spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ. This is a very ancient proof of its authenticity. Origen. prefatio ad lib. in Evang. Joann. tom. II. p. 161. See above, p. 214.

† John xx. 28.—See Script. Confut. p. 75.

‡ Thronus tuus, Deus, in secula seculorum. Cyp. adv. Judæos, lib. ii. cap. vi.—See Script. Confut. p. 155. And above see p. 88, 106, 212.

Christ is therefore not the object of the Psalmist's doxology †. For nothing more than the verbal construction of the sentence do I desire the authority of this Jew. By him who was esteemed a wise man among the Hebrews, and who therefore probably understood the royal prophet's original language, it is admitted that the person glorified is denominated God, though it be denied that Christ is that person. But it is admitted by the Unitarian, that Christ is the person glorified, though it be denied that he is denominated God. I have an undoubted right to avail my cause of every argument which its adversaries contribute; and now accordingly, against the antient, I establish the concession of the modern Unitarian; and *Christ is therefore the being glorified*; whilst, carrying this forward, against the modern I equally establish the assertions of the antient Jew, and therefore *Jesus Christ is denominated God*. Thus, collecting and laying together such portions as are admitted severally by the members of this fraternity, the parts, though deficient, as separately conceded, are yet, when united, found perfectly to correspond with the doctrine of the scriptures; and thus, by their own admission, this text, standing exempt from farther controversy, remains a proof of the godhead of our Redeemer, of his seat on that throne wherein he shall reign for ever, of his sceptre in that kingdom

† Considera quod DEUM alloquens propheta, cujus sedes est in seculum seculi, & virga directionis virga regni ejus, HUNC DEUM ait unctum a Deo qui sit ipse Deus, unctum autem præ participibus suis, hic dilexit justitiam & habuit iniquitatem in odio. Ps. 45, 6, 7. Heb. i. 8, 9. His verbis memini me urgere vehementer Judæum, qui sapiens habebatur apud suos; cumque non posset se explicare, sicut decebat Judæum, aiebat ad universitatis Deum dictum esse illud, "sedes tua, DEUS, in seculum seculi, &c." ad Christum vero illud "dilexisti justitiam & habuisti odio iniquitatem, &c." Origen. contra Celsum, tom. II. p. 426.

kingdom, of which THERE SHALL BE NO END;
Luke i. 33*.

But St. Paul says, that “when they which are Christ’s shall, at his coming, rise from the dead, THEN (cometh) THE END †; when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him; that God may be all in all,” 1 Cor. xv. 24, &c. From which position the Unitarian, erroneously conceiving this kingdom and the divinity by us ascribed to our Saviour to be synonymous terms, infers and insolently urges the groundless inference, that he has found a period appointed to the filial godhead; and hoping to establish his own opinions upon the subversion of consistency in the revelation of God, with this assertion of St. Paul confronts the testimony of the evangelist, and from confusion, which I think he is right in considering as the only basis of his tenets, concludes that “*Christ shall not reign for ever, and that of his kingdom there shall be an end.*”

Before I enter into an enquiry what may be the intention of St. Paul in the passage before us, it may not be amiss to premise, that, as among all men who admit the authority of the scriptures, it must be agreed that the scriptures are the uniform dictate of one Spirit, so it must necessarily be agreed, that the apostle has not here advanced a position diametrically opposite to

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that

* Τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐκ ἔσται ΤΕΛΟΣ. Luke i. 33.

† Ἐξα τὸ ΤΕΛΟΣ, ὅταν παραδῇ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, &c. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

that of the beloved associate of his own ministry,
Coloss. iv. 14, 2 Tim. iv. 11.

And now, as it necessarily follows that, if a future period be appointed for the subjection of the Son, there is an interval of time in which the Son is not subject; that, if a future period be appointed for the surrender of our Redeemer's kingdom, there is an interval of time in which the Father is not in possession of this kingdom; that, if the universality of the Father's godhead depend upon a future contingency, there is an interval of time in which the Father is not universal: and as I dare not, in the general sense of the terms, assert that the Son is not subject from the hour of his having assumed our inferior nature; that he holds the godhead in temporary derogation from the Father's glory; or that God is not eternally all in all, for the purpose of reconciling the scripture of truth, both with itself, and with the eternal universality of the godhead, I first abjure the imputed interpretation, and consequently deny that the kingdom which Christ shall deliver up is the unalienable godhead already compleat in the Father. The terms, therefore, which relate to the kingdom, taken even according to the Unitarian acceptance, do not affect a dignity to which they do not relate.

The sentiment also promulgated by the Unitarian as his own tenet, I equally abjure; and as I believe the dress and cloathing which the sacred writer gives to the subject to be its true and proper predicate, so, when Christ is introduced in scripture, not only sitting on a throne, but exercising regal dominion, I believe the *reality* of his kingly state. I believe his kingdom to be everlasting, and yet such as may perfectly consist with the eternal glory of the Father. It were surely superfluous

to argue against that fantastical, not to say blasphemous, doctrine, that the revelation dictated by "the Spirit sent to guide us into all truth," is made in language accommodated to erroneous prejudice, and consequently calculated only to the establishment of antient falsehood. It carries within itself its sufficient confutation. I shall therefore only oppose it here with a peremptory negative. See Sequel to Apol. p. 269, &c.

But we learn from the holy scriptures, that to the Man Jesus a kingdom has been given; that, the fulness of the godhead dwelling in him *bodily*, he is made the head of all principality and power, Coloss. ii. 9; that this Jesus whom the Jews slew and hanged on a tree, him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, Acts v. 31, constituting the same Jesus whom they had crucified both Lord and Christ, Acts ii. 36. We also learn that the glorious King, from whom we shall receive our final sentence, is no other than the Son of Man, Matth. xxv. 34, Acts x. 42—xvii. 31.

Having thus seen our blessed Redeemer seated on the throne of his glory, and worshipped by every knee in heaven and in earth, Phil. ii. 10, the purpose for which these high and stupendous honours have been conferred upon this Man remains to be enquired into; and this we find to be briefly, that "God, not having appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us that we should live together with him," 1 Thess. v. 9, 10, has, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour Jesus the Son of Man, that, by the grace of God, he should taste death for every man, Heb. ii. 9, and that he might give repentance and forgiveness of sins, Acts v. 31.

The kingdom of our gracious Redeemer we find also to have been predicted, and that the apostle declares all things subdued to him in conformity with the prophecy of the Psalmist, that he must reign till God shall have put all enemies under his feet, Psal. cx. 1, 1 Cor. xv. 25.

Thus then we have found, not only the sure word of prophecy, but the motive and purpose of our Saviour's exaltation to the kingdom which he shall hereafter deliver up; and if now we can find him also appointed to any other office from the same motive, to the same purpose, and with reference to the same prophecy, the nature of that kingdom, which is the subject of the apostle's position, may perhaps appear. It may perhaps appear that it is a kingdom so constituted, that the Son may deliver it up to the Father without the diminution of the Filial, or the augmentation of the Paternal, glory.

That the Captain of our salvation, being made perfect through sufferings, was therefore called of God an High Priest after the order of Melchizedec, we are expressly told by St. Paul, Heb. v. 8, 9, 10. We see him also made in all things like his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, and this too in conjunction with terms which confer the most glorious dignity upon his sacerdotal character, Heb. ii. 9, 14, 17. That King, by whose sentence we shall all be finally determined, we have seen to be the Son of Man; but it is because he is the Son of Man that he hath received authority to execute judgment, John v. 27. Thus do we find the apostolic spirit laboriously insisting upon the human nature of our Redeemer, as the subject of every assertion by which he is said to have received an appointment; and every appointment, whether it be termed royal,

royal, pontifical, judicial, or executive, which he has received on this account, we are evidently told has been conferred upon him merely with relation to us. The motive, therefore, to our Lord's appointment, both to the kingdom which he is to deliver up, and to the priesthood, being the same, even his participation of our carnal nature, the identity of his regal dignity and priesthood, is the natural inference. But if this be deemed too large a deduction from a single point of agreement, that they agree in the first article proposed, is all I shall yet insist upon, desiring only that this concurrence may be carried forward in aid of farther argument.

And this their agreement with respect to the purpose of the institution will contribute; for as our blessed Saviour is both King, Priest, and Judge from one motive; namely, because he is the Son of Man who has sustained, and can therefore have a feeling of, our infirmities, Heb. iv. 15; so we are instructed that, as his royalty is conferred for the purpose of giving repentance and forgiveness of sins, the end of his priesthood also is to make reconciliation for the sins of the people; for in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted, Heb. ii. 17, 18.

But if both be found to correspond with one and the same prediction, and are by the apostles alike inferred from the same prophecy, no farther doubt can be reasonably entertained of the identity of this sovereignty, and the priesthood of Jesus Christ. In the passage before us then, in the first chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, and in the declaration of St. Peter to a mixt multitude at Jerusalem, Acts ii. 34, we are told that God hath raised this Jesus from the dead,
made

made him Lord, and set him far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, in completion of the psalmist's prophecy, which says, "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thine hands; thou hast put all things under his feet," Psalm viii. 6; and which again addresses him, saying, "Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool", Psalm cx. 1. But not only St. Paul deduces the doctrine of our Saviour's priesthood from the same predictions in his epistle to the Hebrews, but the royal prophet himself has declared the subjection of all things under the feet of our great Mediator, "the Prince of our Peace," Isaiah ix. 6, Eph. ii. 14, to be a circumstance descriptive of a priesthood after the order of Melchizedec, King of Salem, which is, King of Peace, Priest of the Most High God, Psalm cx. Heb. i. 13—x. 12. And now, as the law was held under the Levitical priesthood, Heb. vii. 11, so we may, from the tenure of a better covenant under the mediation of our glorified Advocate, conceive the priesthood which, through the introduction of a better hope by which we draw nigh to God, has superseded the carnal ordinance, to be the first state of that kingdom, in the consummation of which we shall be put into the substantial enjoyment of the things hoped for, Heb. xi. 1, and, having been reconciled, be brought nigh to the throne of grace, and by the Captain of our salvation delivered up to God, even the Father.

Having thus demonstrated that the sovereignty of our Lord is that relative character which he now bears, and shall eternally bear to us, whom he has not been ashamed to call brethren, Heb. ii. 11, and which has been conferred upon that nature which he possesses in common with those for whom he ever liveth to make intercession, Heb. vii. 25, it necessarily follows that we
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are the subjects which constitute his kingdom; and therefore that, as our salvation is to be, in the end, the fruit of his victory, Heb. v. 9, this kingdom is, in the interval of time, capable of increase, even till it ascend to final consummation; for as there now subsist enemies which for the present bear rule, but shall hereafter be subdued under his feet; till the period of their subjugation it is evident that he bears but a divided sway within this kingdom: the first office, therefore, that is appointed to the Son of man, in discharge of his royal power, is the extension of its present limits. He has already abolished distinctions among men, with relation to God, by his incarnation; and by his assumption of our carnal nature, the Gentile and the Alien are naturalized and become of the commonwealth of Israel. The world, thus rendered equal and united within itself, required yet the means of reconciliation with God. He, therefore, whose flesh had before gathered together those who were scattered abroad, and made one fraternity of all men, and yet, by continuing to participate of that flesh, for a while permitted man to remain divided from God, as the representative of our nature has already laid down his flesh, that so the enmity which subsisted before by the flesh, might, by the cutting off of this prepared body, be abolished, and we, by the crucifixion of our carnal Man, should thence be enabled to do thy will, O God. Thus are we reconciled to God by the abolition of the enmity which the cross had destroyed. We are first, all men, as well the Alien as the Jew, collected together in the temple; and the partition wall being broken down, one sacrifice is then offered up for all alike; the veil is now rent, and we may therefore enter into the holiest, being reconciled to God by the death of his Son, Eph. ii. But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept, 1 Cor. xv. 20. If therefore, when

when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, how much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life?" Rom. v. 10. To accomplish this infinitely merciful End is his present occupation, the exercise of his present function. He has already died, and, as our propitiation, has once offered his own immaculate body; but having raised this up from the darkness of the grave, and taken it with him into heaven, he stands forth our High Priest over the house of God, Heb. x. 12, 21, pleading the merits, and, by his intercession, rendering effectual the blood, of that one sufficient sacrifice which was given for our redemption, henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool, Heb. x. 13. But this Mediator, 1 Tim. ii. 5, of the New Testament has at length accomplished the End of his advocacy, and obtained reconciliation for us. The enmity which had before subsisted is repressed, and sin being deposed, all they which are Christ's are made subject to the reign of righteousness and grace, Rom. v. The priesthood must therefore of necessity cease here. On the determination of either correlative, the relation is by consequence determined. But Man has obtained his suit, and is now no longer a client. The Advocate is henceforward unnecessary; the mediatorial kingdom of the Son is therefore no more; the sacrifice is accepted, and the Priest retires from the altar.

But, in the twinkling of an eye, the Son of Man is seen coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. The trumpet sounds, and, from one end of heaven to the other, the elect are gathered together before the throne of his glory. To these THE KING is now heard to say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit a kingdom prepared for you," 1 Cor. xv. 52, Matth. xxiv. 30—xxv. 31, 34.

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The decisive word is gone forth; the final sentence is pronounced, by which eternity is administered. The judicial royalty, therefore, of our most merciful Father is now also determined. Execution alone awaits the published judgment. At this point of time, therefore, the executive supremacy of our Lord receives its commencement, and accordingly the Captain of our salvation, who had called on us to come and inherit the kingdom which he had been heretofore occupied in preparing for our reception, leads us forth from the tribunal of reconciled justice, and becomes himself the conductor of many sons into glory, Heb. ii. 10.

Thus has our corruptible put on incorruption, our mortal, immortality; and that saying which is written is brought to pass: Death is swallowed up in victory, 1 Cor. xv. 54. We that are Christ's are made alive, and being changed, by our Lord Jesus Christ, our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself, Philip. iii. 20, 21. Now indeed, I admit it, "cometh the End;" but of what? of the kingdom which has just attained to its predestined universality? No: but of strife and conflict; of all hostile rule, authority, and power; of the principality of sin which had reigned unto death, Rom. v. 21. Now indeed cometh the End, the glorious End; to the attainment of which our gracious Redeemer had taken, laid down, reassumed, and exalted into heaven, our carnal nature*. By him who

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* Although "the End" unquestionably signifies "the determination of the subject," yet it as frequently indicates "the purpose to which any institution is made, means employed;" or, in the more comprehensive language

hath slain the enmity, that he might reconcile us to God by his cross, "we have received the atonement;" and having through him obtained an access unto the Father, we are made of "the household of God;" we are by him conducted "in one body," and delivered up to God, even the Father. This Man himself, who, for the suffering of death, and accomplishment of this great End of divine mercy, has been crowned with glory and honour, being now the chief corner-stone, we are fitly framed and builded together, constituting an holy temple in the Lord, an habitation of God through the Spirit, Eph. ii. We are turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God, being sanctified and having received forgiveness, Acts xxvi. 18. Henceforward the reign of sin unto death being superseded, God takes under himself the emancipated kingdom of our Lord; he

language of Cicero, "illud, cujus causâ aliquid facimus, finem appellamus." Cic. de Fin. When, therefore, we read "then (*cometh*) the End," why are we, with the Unitarian, of necessity to understand it to mean "the end or determination of our Saviour's kingdom," and not rather "the end and purpose for which our Lord employed the means of his own incarnation and subsequent engagement in our behalf?" The recommencement of our life, in consequence of *his* resurrection, τὸ ΤΕΛΟΣ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν, 1 Peter i. 9, is the doctrine which the apostle here inculcates, and to which this brief assertion appears therefore more naturally referable. And it seems to me, that we may with equal propriety assert, "then cometh the determination of the commandment when we love one another," as declare the kingdom of Christ determined when "the End (*cometh*)," εἴη τὸ ΤΕΛΟΣ, 1 Cor. xv. 24. Τὸ δὲ ΤΕΛΟΣ τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καὶ ἀγάπης καρδίας, 1 Tim. i. 5. In what sense is Christ affirmed to be "the End of the law," but as the law was fulfilled in Christ? ΤΕΛΟΣ γὰρ νομῆ Χριστός, Rom. x. 4. And how is "love the end of the commandment," but as love fulfilleth the commandment? πληρῶμα ἐν νόμῳ ἡ ἀγάπη, Rom. xiii. 10. "For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," Gal. v. 14, James ii. 8.

he receives our subjection to the reign of grace unto eternal life, Rom. v. 21 *; he takes us for his people, declares himself to be our God; and the rivals of his universal power being subdued under the feet of our Conductor to his throne, he no longer holds an empire divided with sin and death: their authority is put

* "God be thanked," says St. Paul, "that ye were the servants of sin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine whereto ye were delivered," Rom. vi. 17. Delivered to what, and from what? Not to the form of doctrine surely, (for this, besides the evident nonsense of the assertion, is written accusatively with a preposition) but from the service of sin to the obedience of that righteousness which is specified in the doctrine, and according to which they have become the servants of God, verse 16, 18, 22. Coloss. i. 13, &c. Eph. ii. 2, &c. Rom. i. 24. Here there subsists more than a verbal concurrence. Some similitude in the subject matter may instruct us how to understand in what manner the kingdom shall be delivered up to God. Our deliverance from the bondage of sin is stated here also, and the reign of righteousness and grace is put in direct opposition, and declared to be founded on the ruins of her subverted authority. In order to our subjection to this sway, the alienation of our Saviour's kingdom is not declared a necessary step, nor is he included in those hostile powers which he shall himself put down, any more than the Father who is manifestly excepted. That we should come under the dominion of God, was the very end of our Saviour's participation of our nature. To this, as coheirs, we are now delivered up, together with him who leads us into glory, and who still retains the preëminence, ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς προλήων, Coloss. i. 18. Why then should his resignation be thought to follow? But let us pass on to a comparison of the same apostle's language in these two passages: "Εἰσα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν ΠΑΡΑΔΩῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, 1 Cor. xv. 24. Χάρις δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δέσποί τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὑπακούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν ΠΑΡΑΔΟΘΗΤΕ τύπον διδάχης, Rom. vi. 17. Lay them both together now, and it turns out that, having been released from a service, THE END of which is death, τὸ γὰρ ΤΕΛΟΣ ἐκείνων θανάτου, Rom. vi. 21, we are for ever emancipated and delivered up to an obedience, THE END of which is eternal life, τὸ δὲ ΤΕΛΟΣ ζωῆς αἰώνιον, Rom. vi. 22. This is THE END which the sufferings and merits of our Redeemer have compassed for us; this the eventual reconciliation and delivering up of his everlasting kingdom, 2 Pet. i. 11, to God, even the Father.

put down; it is abjured by the ransomed inheritance of Christ; and henceforward, with respect to restored mankind, God alone is all in all," Heb. ix.

I have proved now to my own, and, I hope, to my reader's satisfaction, that the kingdom which Christ shall reconcile, and, in the End, deliver up to God, is that kingdom, to the possession, improvement, and completion of which his manhood has been exalted. This cannot, indeed, admit of doubt, when it is considered that those sufferings which his human nature alone could undergo, are assigned as the reason for his promotion. "He became obedient unto death, wherefore God also hath highly exalted him." To this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord, both of the dead and living," Rom. xiv. 9, Philip. ii. 9, 2 Cor. v. 15. See above, p. 298, the note.

But it may perhaps be said that the apostle has here revealed the *future* subjection of the Son, together with that of the kingdom which he shall hereafter deliver up to God; and that if his human nature be really the subject of this position, an absurdity results; for that the subjection of his human nature having commenced in the moment of his incarnation, the commencement of that subjection could not be dated from any future period, and therefore that his human nature is not the subject of the apostle's present position.

That Christ having, as a Son, learned and rendered obedience, is therefore, in his individual capacity, subject to God, is a point which I at once concede. Over him Sin had never extended her dominion; and the cords of that stingless tyrant Death being cast from him, this one Man has unquestionably, from the
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very commencement of his carnal existence, found it his chief delight to yield subjection, and to do the will of his Father. Some aggregate character must therefore be explored, in which the subjection of our King to the dominion of God alone has not yet attained to its perfection; but in which, when the End cometh, and that he shall have put down all rule, authority, and power, the Son may with propriety be affirmed first to enter into a state of subjection to him who had subdued all things under him for that great and magnificent purpose, that God may be all in all *.

That assembly of the elect which shall, in the End, be convened under Christ, and which is here denominated the Kingdom, is frequently signified in the scriptures by the name of the Church. But whether we denominate it the kingdom or the church of Christ, it is obvious that, within the precincts of either term, the great Regent or Head is himself comprehended. Now, while other powers bore rule or exercised authority within that jurisdiction, in which it was his province to tread down those enemies which perverted our allegiance to, and retarded our reconciliation with, God, Christ could not, in the plenitude of the appellation, be termed the King or Head; for though he was indeed appointed to the subjugation of the adversary, yet so long as the banner of him who hath the power of death was displayed and resorted to, the finished state of our Lord's supremacy was deferred, Heb. ii. 14; and consequently, however perfect the Head himself, separately

* The structure of the text requires this interpretation, both in our version, and in the original Greek. It is not therefore to be concluded hence, "that the Son is subject, that God may be all in all;" but that "all things were put under the Son, that God may be all in all."

rately considered, must be acknowledged to have at all times been, "the church, which is his body," not being yet washed from every spot or blemish, precludes the possibility of his rendering subjection to God in the fulness of that aggregate character which is not yet acquired, but in which we shall hereafter find him combined with and united to it.

For, to assume the apostolic metaphor, if, by this junction alone, Christ himself, in the End, become a part (though principal) in the assembly of those which are his own, till THE BODY has grown up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, and by that increase, to which he has himself administered, has reached up to, and fitly joined itself in proportionate union with, THE HEAD, Eph. iv. the Head and Body could not be strictly said to have adhered so as to constitute "a perfect Man," nor, consequently, the circumstances affecting or characterizing the one be, with propriety, predicated of the other inclusively. But "God the Father of glory *hath now put all things under his feet* *," and given him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body; the fulness of him which filleth all in all," Eph. i. 22. Their apposite union is therefore now formed, and Christ is therefore now part and parcel of that church whereof he is the head, of that kingdom whereof he is the king. Now, first that coherence between Christ and the Church has taken effect, by which, when the circumstances of the Body are spoken of, the assertion shall be understood to extend to and comprehend the Head, with which it has thus become one, and without which his fulness was incomplete. "For as the Body

* This reference to the same prophecy proves the subject to be the same.

Body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one Body, being many, are one Body; so also is Christ," 1 Cor. xii. 12, Rom. xii. 5.

But, to the perfection of the Head, the perfect vigour of the Body is essential; to the vigour of the Body, the health and perfect freedom of every limb. But now, if we, for a season, have rendered ourselves, who ought at all times to be members of Christ, members of unrighteousness, till the subjugation of sin, how shall we be so united to his Body, that we shall become active limbs, deriving our increase and vigour from him who is the Head? Eph. iv. 15, 16: And how indeed, till the End cometh, when he shall, by putting down all power and authority, have removed those impediments which in the interval control our functions, shall the Head of that Body, whose limbs are bound up in thralldom to iniquity, and have yielded themselves members to unrighteousness, be itself affirmed to enjoy a state of exemption from restraint, and to have entered into that subjection which alone is perfect freedom? 1 Cor. vii. 22, Rom. vi. 22. First he shall subdue the enemy, and, breaking his chains asunder, untie the limbs that were bound to sin. The Members thus emancipated, the Body thus invigorated and made free, the Head, to which we are then united, and from which "we derive increase," performing its proper offices, in union with an healthy Body, which, thus strengthened and cleansed, it delivers up to God, even the Father, now first enters into a species of subjection hitherto untried, and, together with that church of souls, of which he is "the great Bishop;" that kingdom, of which he is the mighty King, the Son himself, having attained to his fulness, becomes subject to him who had for this

very end subdued all things under him, that he might be the Head of the church.—That the several relations; or rather degrees of one relation, which the crucified and glorified Son of Man bears to us, form the subject of the apostle's discussion in the passage before us, is an indisputable point. The perfection of that relation he tells us is at length attained to. The union of Christ and the church is now first instituted. Till every member was in subjection, the undivided Whole could not be justly considered as in subjection. While we were obedient to sin, our Head could not, with this reference, be considered as subject to grace; and consequently the subjection of the Son can only now be said to have had a commencement, when that aggregate character, in which he stands combined with us, has first attained to its perfection, when that union is effected by which the Head and Body are brought into coherence, 1 Cor. xii. 26; 27.

Let me still have permission to accompany the apostle in his close pursuit of this figure.—So long as we stood out and resisted, the Son could not lead us to the throne of grace, nor commence his own subjection in this connected capacity; but having at length enfranchised and reconciled us, he delivers up, not his supremacy, but his purchase, to the reign of righteousness, being himself incorporated with us. He does not alienate the kingdom which his blood and warfare had redeemed from the adversary; nor, withdrawing the Head, deliver up only the truncated Body to God, even the Father. He enters himself into the same subjection which is “not a bondage to fear,” but a state in which “the Son has made us indeed free,” John viii. 32. For the wages of sin which, with the service, we have refused, he obtains for

for us that substitute which grace had through him appointed for the subjects of righteousness, even the free gift of God, which is eternal life. But having thus acquired for his people a participation of his own immortality, it does not appear that, frustrated of the end for which he died and revived, he ceases to participate of our now glorified nature, or, under God, to preside over those children whom God had given him, Heb. ii. 13. "The Son abideth for ever," John viii. 31, 1 Thess. iv. 17, and "we are the members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones," Eph. v. 30. And now, as "Christ is the Head of every man," and thus the church is a Body to him, so Christ and the church, consolidated together, form a Body, of which God is the Head. Thus then it is that the Son shall, when the End cometh, be subject to him who had given him the victory for our exaltation; and thus considered in his union with the church, it is justly and intelligibly affirmed that "the Head of Christ is God," 1 Cor. xi. 3, Eph. v. 23.

—Thus do I chuse, though at the unavoidable expence of brevity, by the use of scripture language to combine my argument and the proofs that support it; and thus, though at the expence of variety, do I chuse to adhere to that single metaphor which annexes authority to elucidation. On almost every return to the subject, the apostle adduces, and frequently in its minutest circumstances applies, the union of the human head and body to illustrate the future union of Christ and the church. And the ante-Nicene Origen, treading in his steps, has authorized the use which I have here made of the allusion: for he asserts that "Christ as Head cannot be declared subject till every limb is subject; and that the mode of speech is the same with that by which we

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deny the health of a man in general, who in any particular member of his body is out of order *."

Collecting now the several parts of the foregoing argument, the whole may be summed up into the following paraphrase of the passage under enquiry.

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* Si aliquod membrum corporis doleamus, quamvis reliqua omnia membra nostra sana sint, tamen quia dolore unius membri totus homo affligitur, non dicimus quia sani sumus, sed quia male habemus. Verbi causâ, dicimus "ille non est sanus." Quare? Quia pedes dolet, aut renes, aut stomachum. Et nemo dicit, quia "sanus est, si stomachum dolet," sed, "non est sanus quia stomachum dolet."—Apostolus dicit quia corpus Christi sumus & membra ex parte, Eph. v. 30, 32. Unusquisque nostrum membra ex parte est, si aliquis ex nobis, ergo, qui membra ejus dicimur ægrotat & aliquo peccati morbo laborat, i. e. si alicujus peccati maculâ inuritur & non subjectus Deo, recte ille nondum dicitur esse subjectus, cujus sint membra illi, qui non sunt subjecti Deo. Cum autem omnes eos, qui corpus suum dicuntur ac membra, sanos habuerit, ut in nullo inobedientiæ laboraverint morbo, sanis omnibus membris, Deoque subjectis, merito se dicit esse subjectum illi, cujus, nos, membra Deo in omnibus obedimus. Origen. Hom. ii. in Psal. xxxvi. tom. I. p. 278.

HILARY, Bishop of Poitiers, in the middle of the fourth century, most solemnly avers, that, from the scriptures alone, he had deduced the very same doctrine concerning the one substance of the Father and Son, which had been approved of by the council of Nice; and this too before he had ever read or heard of the creed published by that synod. Something like the satisfaction, which this venerable father must have felt on finding that his sentiments had the concurrence of so wise a body, I now feel on finding my own manner of understanding the passage before us authorized by the concurrence of Origen: for, long before I knew that he had adverted to it, I had, from my own observation on the argument of St. Paul, supplied the interpretation which I have given above.

I shall here annex the testimony of Hilary. His ignorance of the Nicene faith may almost rank him with the ante-Nicene writers.

Testor Dominum celi atque terræ, me, cum neutrum audissem, semper tamen utrumque sensisse, quod per ὁμοιουσιον ὁμοιουσιον oporteret intelligi, id est, nihil simile sibi (sc. Patri) secundum naturam esse posse, nisi quod esset ex eadem naturâ. Regeneratus pridem & in episcopatu aliquantisper manens fidem Nicænam nunquam (nisi exulaturus) audivi. Sed mihi ὁμοιουσι & ὁμοιουσιον intelligentiam evangelia & apostoli intimerunt. Hilarii de Synodis adversus Arrianos Liber. sub fin.

As, by this Man came the resurrection of the dead, then cometh the attainment of that End for which he took manhood, when they which are his are made alive; then cometh the attainment of that End for which his manhood was exalted above all principality and power, to the regal functions of a Mediator and a Judge, when every inimical power is put under his feet, and Death himself swallowed up in victory; for then the kingdom, the administration of which had heretofore been of a militant nature, being perfectly delivered from the invasion of sin, and adapted to the dominion of God, shall have been brought nigh, and delivered up, to that God, to whose sole dominion it has thus been adapted. But this kingdom is the fulness of the Son. To his relative perfection, therefore, it is necessary that this shall be compleat. But it now is compleat. And now the great Finisher of our faith, having accomplished every end of his incarnation, may be affirmed first to have become perfect through sufferings; now first to have learned the full lesson of his own obedience. When, therefore, the Son of Man shall have presented to God a kingdom rescued from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God; a kingdom no longer carnal, but set free, and made subject to the law of God; and to which, being reconciled by himself, God alone shall be all in all; then shall the Son himself be perfectly subject to the same law; for every obstruction which impeded his fulness is broken down, the promises of God are fulfilled to him, his expectations are answered, his enemies are subdued and made his footstool, and no farther difficulty remains to be superseded; the times of restitution of all things are arrived; that perfection which his sufferings and mediation had purchased accrues to him; we are now raised together with Christ; together with Christ we are exalted to sit in heavenly

places; his blood has cleansed us, and we are put into an eternal fellowship with the Son; for ever with the Lord, where he is, being perfect in one, Christ himself in us, and God in Christ, we shall behold the glory which God has given to him who died and rose for our adoption, and who, inasmuch as he has made us the children of the resurrection, and therefore the children of God, has not been ashamed himself to call us brethren. See Rom. viii. 7, 21. Eph. i. 23—ii. 5. John xvii. 23, 24. 1 Thess. iv. 14, 17. Heb. ii. 10, 14, 15, 17—vi. 8, 9, 10—x. 12, 13, 14. Coloss. i. 12. Acts iii. 21. Luke xx. 36.

And now, what has St. Paul delivered derogatory from the godhead of our Redeemer? That the kingdom is formed upon our resurrection sufficiently testifies that we are the subjects which form the kingdom of that Many by whom came the resurrection. That his MANHOOD is therefore the recipient of that kingdom which relates to us, and for the perfection of which every other power had been subdued to him, that the authority of God alone might prevail, is a necessary conclusion. And how far, I say, are we now authorized by the apostle to infer against the omnipotence of his godhead? He delivers up (however understood) a kingdom to which he had been exalted for sufferings. And what then? Why then, cries the Unitarian, he is not God. I own I do not see the justice of the inference: for while I say that he is God, and therefore omnipotent, I yet acknowledge that he is Man, and therefore capable of an appointment to a peculiar kingdom. The relation in which the carnal nature of our Lord stands to us, forms the subject of the apostle's discourse. To this he has with undeviating strictness confined himself; and throughout we only find the "Son of Man glorified," John xiii. 31, Matth. xvi.

27—xix. 28. Mark viii. 38, Luke xxii. 29, 30. At the very utmost, therefore, unless a negative be the logical inference from silence with respect to a matter foreign from the purpose of an argument, the purchased and appointed kingdom of our Saviour's manhood alone is surrendered.

But if terms of transfer thus annihilate, I desire to know how the kingdom of the Father shall be secured from diminution when he shall have "translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son," Coloss. i. 12, 13. For my own part, I do not conceive it possible for any thing to be withdrawn from under the hand of the Almighty, and must leave it for the Unitarian to carry forward against the Paternal authority that argument which he esteems conclusive against the Filial sceptre, or demand that, if he acknowledge the Father's dominion undiminished by a transfer to that of the Son, he will acknowledge the dominion of the Son undiminished, by his having delivered up his kingdom to the Father.

And this perhaps, he may find to be the case, when, looking into a more particular detail of the dispensations of heaven subsequent to the final judgment of mankind, he shall behold the Lord God almighty and the Lamb constitute one temple for the worshippers in his future kingdom; the glory of God lighten the new residence of those who are written in the book of life, and the Lamb the light thereof, Rev. xxi. 23: And when seeing the throne of God, and the Lamb, who is the Lord of lords and King of kings, seated in the midst of the throne, Rev. vii. 15, 17—xix. 16—xxii. 1, 4, he shall be called upon to recognize his own assertion, that "to sit upon the throne is the most certain and irrefragable character of the one supreme God." Sequel to Apol. p. 37 and 39.

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Our gracious Redeemer's participation and consequent feeling of our infirmities had for its primary or immediate object our reconciliation with his carnal nature, which was therefore effected in the instant of his incarnation; and thus his flesh had placed a step, by which alone it was possible that an offending race could pass to God; for his manhood, with which we had been thus previously associated, being taken into God, by its double relation becomes a Mediator between both, and at length effects that reconciliation which was the final object of all that he had undertaken and undergone for us. He had offered his immaculate body as our one propitiatory sacrifice, and, dying for us while we were yet in our sins, became a curse for us; thus at once satisfying the indispensable demands of infinite justice, and by his blood cleansing us from all impurity which had rendered us unfit to stand before the perfect eyes of God. But corruption is abolished, and now shall Christ present us unto himself a glorious church, without blemish, spot, or wrinkle. Awake then thou that sleepest; arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light, Eph. v. 14, 27; for captivity is captive, mortality is swallowed up of life, and Christ filleth all things; his stature is perfected, and we are now the compleat fulness of him who filleth all in all, Eph. i. 23—iv. 13; "the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is come; we are now renewed, and Christ is all and in all," Coloss. iii. 11. See also 2 Cor. v. 4, 21. Galat. iii. 13. For "Christ," says Cyprian, "is our God, who put on man, that, as a Mediator between both, he might become the Conductor of man to the Father*." "He is our God; that

* Deus pater, hic Christus est, qui Mediator duorum, hominem induit quem perducit ad Patrem. Cypriani de Vanitate Idolorum, p. 15. See above, p. 121, 122, 206.

that is, he is not the God of all, but only of the faithful and such as believe. He is the God who shall not keep silence when he shall be manifested in his second coming; for then shall he, who came before in obscure humility, appear manifest in power *.”
 Psalm l. 3.

When the neglected objects of Pagan superstition were avenged by their zealous votaries, and the alternative of excessive torment or apostacy was proposed to the worshippers of Christ, however we may lament their timidity, we cannot reasonably wonder that, out of the prodigious numbers whose constancy was brought to the trial, some of inferior fortitude should take refuge at the Gentile altar, and, renouncing the Lord who bought them, should scatter incense before the imperial idol. The sad severity of their fate excited compassion in the cotemporary Christians, who, after the allowance of a reasonable time, in which they might have leisure to review and bewail their lapse, again received them into the bosom of the church. This interval of repentance, however, was by many considered in the light of a grievous burden. Impatient of delay, therefore, they importunately solicited the immediate restoration of such as had thus apostatized. But with this demand Cyprian uniformly refused to comply, urging “that the loss of salvation was the immediate consequence of a doctrine that would dispense with prayer to God, or prevent that man who had denied Christ from deprecating the wrath of him whom he had denied;”

* *Hic est Deus noster, id est, non omnium, sed fidelium & credentium. Deus, qui cum in secundo adventu manifestus venerit non filebit: nam, cum in humilitate prius fuerit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus.*
 Cyp. de Bono Patientie.

nied †;” “for that in the gospel the Lord himself has declared, Whosoever shall deny me, him will I also deny, Matth. x. 33. And again, ye have poured out drink-offerings and made sacrifice to images, and shall not my indignation be kindled? saith the Lord, Isaiah lvii. 6. Such, therefore, as require the immediate restitution of those who have sacrificed to idols, intercede that the pardon of God, who has borne testimony to his own anger, may not be implored; that Christ, who has declared his resolution to deny that man who denieth him, may not be appeased with prayers and satisfactory repentance *.” “I beseech you therefore to acquiesce in my counsel, who daily pour forth the unintermitted prayer to the Lord, and desire that, by the mercy of the Lord, ye may be recalled to the church †.” “What! am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth? If I had sought to conciliate men, I had not then been the servant of Christ. If, however, I shall fail to persuade others to please Christ, I shall yet of a certainty perform my own part, and, by keeping his command-
ments,

† Ad ruinam salutis inducitur, ut non rogetur Deus, nec qui negavit Christum quem negaverat deprecetur. Cyprian. Epist. xliii. p. 82.

* Dominus in evangelio dicit; qui me negaverit, negabo illum. Et alio loco indignatio & ira divina non tacet, dicens: Illis fudistis libamina, & illis imposuistis sacrificia: super hæc non indignabor? dicit Dominus, Et intercedunt ne rogetur Deus, qui indignari se ipse testatur. Intercedunt ne exoretur precibus & satisfactionibus Christus, qui negantem se negare proficetur. Cyprian. Epist. lix. p. 134.

I have intentionally avoided the detail of any farther circumstances concerning the restitution of penitent apostates than such as immediately relate to my own subject.

† Quæro vos, acquiescite consiliis nostris, qui pro vobis quotidie continuis Domino preces fundimus, qui vos ad ecclesiam revocari per Domini clementiam cupimus. Cyprian. Epist. xliii. p. 84.

ments, please Christ, my Lord and my God *.” “For us, and for our offences, did he endure, and watch, and pray; how much the more incumbent is it, therefore, upon us to be earnest in supplications, and prayers, and entreaties, first to the Lord himself, and then, thro’ him, to make satisfaction to God the Father †?” “If therefore ye will begin the work of repentance, and make full satisfaction to God and his Christ, whom I serve, and to whom, whether in persecution or in tranquillity, with pure and immaculate lips I offer up the sacrifice of adoration, then may we enjoy your communion with us ‡;” “then may we offer up unceasing thanks to God the Father almighty, and to his Christ our Lord, God, and Saviour, for his divine protection of the church §;” “then, in our sacrifices and prayers, shall we not cease to give thanks to God the Father, and to Christ his Son, our Lord; we shall not cease to ask and to pray, that he, who is himself perfect, and can bring to per-

* *Inimicus factus vobis sum, verum dicens vobis? Gal. iv. 16. Si hominibus placerem Christi servus non essem, Gal. i. 10. Si quibusdam suadere non possumus ut eos Christo placere faciamus, nos certè, quod nostrum est, Christo Domino & Deo nostro, præcepta ejus servando, placeamus. Cyprian. Epist. iv. p. 10.*

† *Quod si pro nobis ac pro delictis nostris ille & laborabat & vigilabat & precabatur, quanto nos magis insistere precibus & orare, & primo ipsum Dominum rogare, tum deinde per ipsum Deo Patri satisfacere debemus. Cyprian. Epist. xi. p. 25.*

‡ *Si pænitentiam temeritatis tuæ agere cæperis; si Deo & Christo ejus, quibus servo, & quibus puro atque immaculato ore sacrificia, & in persecutione pariter & in pace indefinenter offero, plenissime satisfeceris; communicationis tuæ poterimus habere rationem. Cyprian. Epist. lxi. p. 169.*

§ *Et egisse nos & agere, frater charissime, maximas gratias sine cessatione profitemur Deo Patri omnipotenti, & Christo ejus Domino & Deo nostro Salvatori, quòd sic ecclesia divinitus protegatur. Cyp. Epist. lii. p. 94.*

perfection, may preserve and perfect you to the attainment of a glorious crown *."

Such is the clear and decisive language in which this eminent martyr avows his own uninterrupted practice, and inculcates the adoration of our blessed Lord. He grounds the doctrine on the scriptures, in which he asserts, and by numerous extracts proves his assertion, that it is expressly commanded. From these, for more were unnecessary, I shall select but one, and that chiefly on account of the father's remarkable manner of quoting it. St. John, he says, about to render worship to an angel, is rebuked and told not to do it, but to "worship the Lord Jesus †," Rev. xix. 10—xxii. 9.

This,

* *Vicarias pro nobis ad vos literas mittimus, repræsentantes vobis per epistolam gaudium nostrum, fida obsequia caritatis expromimus; hic quoque in sacrificiis atque in orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo Patri, & Christo Filio ejus Domino nostro gratias agere & orare pariter ac petere ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat & perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam.* Cyprian. Epist. lxi. p. 145.

I freely confess that this passage is not addressed by Cyprian to any who had denied Christ in the time of persecution. Were its application of any importance whatsoever I should not have adduced it here. The phraseology inculcates the worship of our Lord independent of any circumstances with which it is connected, and to this end alone I use it.

† In apocalypsi, angelus Joanni volenti adorare se resistit, & dicit, vide ne feceris, &c. Jesum Dominum adora. Cyprian. de Bono Patientiæ, sub fin.—Neither Wetstein nor Mill take notice of this reading.

My Remarker, arguing from the behaviour of St. John, rather than the rebuke of the angel, has made a most extraordinary use of the apostle's error; for he thence deduces the propriety of rendering worship to the creature, and concludes, that the adoration of the angel was not idolatry; for, "it is not possible," he says, "that he, whose long extended life had been spent in propagating the knowledge of the one true God, and of the honour due to him alone, to whom so extraordinary illuminations of the Holy Spirit had been vouchsafed for the very purpose of breaking down the strong holds of idolatry, should close the scene of his life and preaching with an overt act utterly repugnant to all ideas of true religion." Addenda to Remarks, p. 8, 9. But I now desire to learn whether

This, I grant, is not a literal version of the Greek as it has descended to us; and I even doubt whether Cyprian

whether the apostle died in the act of worshipping the angel? whether he relinquished his evangelical occupation, but with life; or closed the scene of his life till he had recorded and reprobated his own transgression; till, subsequent to his error he had raised his warning voice, and bequeathed to us a caution against the identical inference which is now perversely drawn from his misconduct?

"But can no reason," proceeds the idolater, "be given why the angel rejected the offer of St John, but that he thought it sinful for the one to give, or the other to receive, the offered worship? Yes. The angel himself gives a most satisfactory one: *See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets.* He who gave commission to me has given thee the same also; and thus we are upon a level, being made joint and equal ministers of the same glorious dispensation. *Worship God*, therefore, who has made thee a chosen vessel to himself, to whose good pleasure the great honour of this appointment, which sets thee in the rank of angels, is solely due." Addenda to Remarks, p. 8, 9. Of this the whole amount is, that the angel was not too low to be an object of general worship, but that St. John was by a particular commission exalted, and made too high to prefer it. This, however, need not hinder the Remarker from adoring the angel himself; for it does not appear that any such extraordinary commission has elevated or exempted him from worshipping the creature, rather than the Creator. The whole Romish calendar is open to his adoration. Nay, if such a reason be satisfactory, and that all with whom we are not upon a level are entitled to worship, I hardly know what the Being is to which this man must not esteem it an incumbent duty to bow the knee.

Why did Peter, who was "set in the rank of angels," refuse the worship of Cornelius, who was certainly his inferior? and why did Paul, when called Mercurius, refer the Gentiles to the true God, and not rather arrogate their adoration to his own real dignity, as being the fellow-servant of angels? Acts x. 25—xiv. 14.

"But it is only an inferior kind of worship that is authorized by this example."—That is more than the passage warrants us to say. The worship which the angel transferred from himself to God is the very same worship which St. John offered to the angel. Ἐπεσον ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΑΙ αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγει μοι, ὅρα μή. Τῷ Θεῷ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΕΩΝ.

The resources of the Unitarian fraternity deserve observation. Wherever the sacred records seem to degrade our Redeemer to a rank below omnipotence,

prian intended it for more than a paraphrase. But be that as it may, the sentiment of the father himself is equally clear from either supposition. If he has translated, it proves that, in some very early copy, the passage was thus read; and if he has only supplied a comment, his inference from the doctrine is evident; That God, therefore, whom the apostle was commanded to worship, was by Cyprian understood to be no other than our Lord Jesus Christ.

His frequent thanksgivings to our Saviour evince the belief of this excellent man, that Christ was his Benefactor and Defender; his prayers, that the ears of our Lord were still open, and his power adequate to the accomplishment of his desires. This latter tenet he has expressly avowed in a work dictated by the very spirit

potence, or to elevate other beings to a level with our Lord, then the infallibility of the apostolic character is instantly proclaimed. But let the language of scripture glorify his omnipotence, and declare him to be "God blessed for ever," we are then called upon to "consider that the sacred penmen were left to themselves." Sequel to Apol. p. 472. Now, as an answer to these evasive sophisms, I urge, first, that the conduct of the apostles, though probably in general the most exemplary, was yet not necessarily exempt from error; whereas, in the second place, as ministers of the New Testament, their sufficiency was of God. When they preached, it was not they, but the grace of God that was with them, 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. iii. 5. Their writings, therefore, are the only unerring rule. From these alone we are enabled to draw the infallible testimony of Christ. But these record their conduct. They do so; but with it the reprehension which prohibits imitation. If St. Peter erred; for our learning his error was corrected and recorded. Paul has warned him who standeth to take heed lest he fall; and even while the ministry of reconciliation was confided with him, this great apostle was urgent in prayer lest he might himself become a cast-away. In the present instance, St. John is seen to prostrate himself before an angel. But was this done for our edification? No:—that was the object of his writings; and accordingly this inspired man has himself transmitted the history of his own transgression, and annexed that rebuke with which it was received, and which shall to all succeeding ages denote its criminality.

spirit of our benevolent religion; for, recommending mutual good offices among Christians, he says, with an allusion to Matth. xxv. 35, 36, “ Unless you think that he who feedeth Christ is himself not fed by Christ, or that earthly things are wanting to that man to whom heavenly things are given,” “ let us give to Christ an earthly clothing, sure to receive an heavenly garment *.” “ Divide your revenues with the Lord, your God; your fruits participate with Christ; make Christ a partaker of your earthly possessions, that he may make you a coheir of his heavenly kingdom †.” “ Let us, therefore, with our utmost diligence hasten to succour the afflicted, that we may thus, by a ready obedience, conciliate Christ, our Judge, our Lord, and our God ‡.”

The testimony of Cyprian, that our Lord was both God and Man, has already been produced. Indeed, from a profession that he was truly God, it must necessarily be inferred that he believed in the two natures of Christ; for, notwithstanding that he raised his own body from the grave, according to the power which

* *Nisi si putas quia qui Christum pascit, a Christo ipse non pascitur, aut eis terrena deerunt, quibus cœlestia & divina tribuantur;—demus Christo vestimenta terrena, indumenta cœlestia recepturi. Cypriani de Opere & Eleemôsynis, p. 202, 203.*

† *Reditus tuos divide cum Domino Deo tuo: fructus tuos partire cum Christo: fac tibi possessionum terrestrium Christum participem, ut ille te sibi faciat regnorum cœlestium coheredem. Ejusd. Operis, p. 202.*

‡ *Quibus possumus viribus elaborare, & velociter gerere, ut Christum Judicem & Dominum & Deum nostrum promercamur obsequiis nostris. Cyprian. Epist. lxii. p. 146.*

This is urged in favour of many Christians who were in captivity, and from which Cyprian was desirous of procuring their release.

which he declares himself that he possessed, John x. 18 §, all must allow the crucified Jesus to have been truly Man. That he was only Man, however, he declares to be the sentiment of the Jews, who deduced the tennet from the humility of his flesh and body, and yet were driven to the necessity of ascribing magical powers to him, in order to account for his miracles *; whereas, had they believed and rested in the truth, they would have known that, “the Holy Ghost coöperating, he took flesh of a virgin, and thus became God mixed with Man †.” In like manner Mr. Lindsey, contending on the side of Celsus in opposition to Origen, of Trypho in opposition to Justin Martyr, abets the sentiment of this Hebrew, and pronounces Christ “to have been but a Man like ourselves,” Seq. to Apol. p. 397, &c. Nay, upon our dissent from this Jewish creed, he even stamps the name of impiety: and such precisely was the objection of the synagogue to the worship of Christ. They pronounced it an heresy: “but after the way which they call heresy,” says Paul, “so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets,” Acts xxiv. 14.

And that Christ was the God whom the law revealed to our fathers, and whose humble advent in our nature was foretold by the prophets, the venerable man, whose faith

§ Crucifixus prævento carnificis officio, Spiritum sponte dimisit, & die tertio rursus a mortuis sponte surrexit. Cypr. de Vanit. Idol. p. 16. Vide supra, p. 113, 267, 270.

* Judæi qui illum crediderunt hominem tantum de humilitate carnis & corporis; existimabant magum de licentia potestatis. Cypriani de Vanitate Idolorum, p. 16.

† Hic in virginem illabitur; carnem, Spiritu Sancto coöperante, induitur. Deus cum homine miscetur. Eiusd. Oper. p. 15. Vide supra, p. 206, 335.

faith is the subject of enquiry, has largely declared †. He asserts that “the name of Christ is preached as necessary to the remission of sins, not as if the Son alone were to be adhered to without, or in contradistinction to, the Father, but for the information of the Jews, (who boasted that they had the Father) that the Father would profit them nothing unless they believed likewise in the Son whom he had sent; for they who knew God the Creator should also know Christ the Son, that they might not flatter and congratulate themselves on the Father alone without the knowledge of the Son *.” For, to adduce the authority of another early writer, “he who thinks that he worships the Father, inasmuch as he worships not the Son, so likewise he omits to worship the Father; but he who comprehends the Son, and assumes his name, together with the Son, worships the Father also †”. (See above p. 287).

I need not insist upon the unity of the Son with the Father alone, as this is necessarily implied in a proof of his unity with the Father and the Holy Ghost; and to this

† For a reference to the texts, by which he maintains the latter position, see above, p. 311. For the maintenance of the former he quotes Gen. xxii. 11—xxxi. 13—xxxv. 1. Exod. xlii. 31—xlv. 19—xxiii. 20. Cyprian. advers. Judæos, lib. ii. cap. v. See above, p. 281.

* Quod enim in evangeliiis & in apostolorum epistolis Jesu Christi nomen insinuat ad remissionem peccatorum, non ita est quasi aut sine Patre aut contra Patrem prodesse cuicumque solus Filius possit. Sed ut Judæis qui jactabant se Patrem habere ostenderetur quoddammodo nisi ille eis Pater profuturus esset, nisi in Filium crederent quem ille misisset. Nam qui Deum Creatorem sciebant Filium quoque Christum scire debebant, ne sibi blandirentur & plauderent de solo Patre sine Filii ejus agnitione. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaianum, p. 205.

† Qui solum Patrem se colere putat, sicut Filium non colit, ita ne Patrem quidem. Qui autem Filium suscipit & nomen ejus gerit, is verum cum Filio simul & Patrem colit. Lactantii, lib. iv. de verâ Sapientia, cap. xxix. Vide supra, p. 267.

this Cyprian has born his explicit testimony; for, arguing against the validity of baptism administered by heretics, and the necessity of baptizing such as renounced their error, and were desirous of being admitted into the catholic church, he argues, that “if any can receive baptism from heretics, he may also receive forgiveness of sins. But if he has obtained forgiveness of sins, he is also sanctified, and made the temple of God. I demand now, of what God? If I shall be answered, of the Creator, I reply, that he cannot be his temple who has not believed in him; if of Christ, neither can he be made the temple of Christ, who denies that Christ is God; if of the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as **THESE THREE ARE ONE**, how can the Holy Ghost be in amity with him who is the enemy of either the Father or the Son *?” “On what grounds then can any man assert

* Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit; utique & remissionem peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissionem consequutus est, & sanctificatus est, & templum Dei factus est; quæro cujus Dei? si Creatoris, non potuit qui in eum non credidit: si Christi, nec hujus fieri templum qui negat Deum Christum: si Spiritus Sancti, cum **TRES UNUM SINT**, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est? Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. p. 203.

This seems to allude to 1 John v. 7. See above, p. 204.

Cyprian here indisputably indicates the Father by the title of “the Creator.” He, nevertheless, ascribes the creation to the Son in another part of his works, which proves that he does not here ascribe it to the Father exclusively. Animating the victims of heathen outrage to sustain their faith with fortitude, he says, “In persecution the earth is shut out, but heaven is opened; antichrist threatens, but Christ defends; death invades, but immortality ensues. And how great is the glory, for a moment to shut the eyes by which men and the world are seen, and instantly to open them to the view of God and Christ.” “If we endure reproaches in this world, if slight, if torments, **THE MAKER AND LORD OF THE WORLD** experienced heavier sorrows, and apprized us of future persecution, saying, If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me, &c. John xv. 18. Whatsoever our Lord and God taught, that he did, that the disciple may be without excuse, who learns, but does not also carry into practice.” Let us then have respect to the recompence of the reward, and suffer with

assert that a Gentile, howsoever baptized, not only without, but even in opposition to the church, can receive remission of sins, when Christ himself commands the nations to be baptized in the full and united Trinity*†? For, in giving command to the apostles to go and to teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Matth. xxviii. 19, "he signifies the Trinity into a covenant with which the nations should be baptized †." "If we, therefore, are the priests of God and of Christ, I do not perceive whom we should follow in preference to God and Christ, who in the gospel has expressly said, "I am the light of the world," John viii. 12, and who has expressly commanded

with the patience of hope; "for, oh! how great is the glory, how vast the joy, to behold your God! to be exalted to the enjoyment of salvation and eternal light with Christ your Lord and God."—"Claudentur persecutionibus terræ, sed patet cælum: minatur antichristus, sed Christus tuetur: mors inferitur, sed immortalitas sequitur: occiso mundus eripitur, sed restituto paradysus, exhibetur: vita temporalis extinguitur, sed æterna reparatur. Quanta est dignitas—claudere in momento oculos quibus homines videbantur & mundus, & aperire eosdem statim ut Deus videatur & Christus." "Si contumelias in hoc mundo, si fugam, si tormenta toleramus, graviora expertus est **MUNDI FACTOR ET DOMINUS**, qui & admonet dicens; si seculum, &c. Joann. xv. 18. **DOMINUS ET DEUS NOSTER** quicquid docuit & fecit, ut discipulus excusatus esse non possit, qui discit & non facit." "Quæ erit gloria, & quanta lætitia, admitti ut Deum videas; honorari, ut cum Christo Domino & Deo tuo salutus & lucis æternæ gaudium capias." Cyprian. de Exhortat. Martyrii, p. 183. Epist. lviii. p. 123, 125.

* Quomodo ergo quidam dicunt foris extra ecclesiam, imò & contra ecclesiam, modo in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque & quomodocunque Gentilem baptizatum, remissionem peccatorum consequi posse; quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubeat in plenâ & adunatâ Trinitatē. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. p. 206:

† Ite, docete, &c. Matth. xxviii. 19, insinuat Trinitatem cujus sacramento gentes baptizarentur. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. p. 206.

manded us to baptize in these three names * :” for “ baptism is a symbol or confession of the Trinity † ;” and consequently, in the administration of this sacrament, no one of the three names should be omitted. The name of the Son, therefore, when used without that of the Father, is unprofitable; and in like manner the name of the Father, exclusive of the Son’s, is used without advantage ‡. “ In short, we may compendiously assert, that they who hold not the Father to be true Lord, cannot hold the truth of the Son and of the Holy Ghost § ;” “ nor, with a full and sincere knowledge of God the Father, and of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, march forth from the tents of holiness to war against the

* Si sacerdotes Dei & Christi sumus, Rev. xx. 6, non invenio quem magis sequi, quam Deum & Christum debeamus; quando ipse in evangelio maxime dicat, Ego sum lumen mundi, Joann. viii. 12, & ipse dixit, ite ergo, docete omnes gentes, tingentes eos, &c, Matth. xxviii. 19. Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. p. 157.

† Symbolum Trinitatis.—This appellation is given by FIRMILIANUS, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the pupil of Origen, the cotemporary and correspondent of Cyprian. His epistle, whence this and some few farther extracts are taken, is printed among those of Cyprian as the lxxv. Epist. p. 223.—This eminent bishop convened a council at Iconium, in which the doctrine of Cyprian concerning baptism was confirmed.

CORNELIUS likewise, the cotemporary Bishop of Rome, on the reformation of some refractory persons, declares to Cyprian, “ I greatly rejoice, and return thanks to the Almighty God and Christ our Lord, for that they have, on knowing their error, of their own accord, come back to the Church from which they had strayed.” “ Tantâ lætitiâ adfecti sumus, et Deo omnipotenti et Christo Domino nostro gratias egimus, cum ii, cognito suo errore, ad Ecclesiam unde exierant simplici voluntate venerunt.” Cypr. Epist. xlix. p. 92.—He recommends similar gratitude to Cyprian, “ Deo omnipotenti et Christo Domino nostro gratias ageres.” Ejusd. Epist. p. 93.—“ Nor are we ignorant,” he likewise says, “ that there is one God, one Christ the Lord, whom we have confessed, and one Holy Ghost.” “ Nec ignoramus unum Deum esse, unum Christum esse Dominum, quem confessi sumus, unum Spiritum Sanctum.” Ibid.

‡ Vide supra, p. 343.

§ Satis est breviter illud in compendio dicere: eos qui non teneant verum Dominum Patrem, tenere non posse, nec Filii, nec Spiritus Sancti veritatem. Firmiliani Epist. ad Cypr. inter Cypr. Epist. lxxv. p. 220.

the devil ¶." Let us then unite together, and render ourselves members of that *one* body which Christ has instituted, and, calling upon the Trinity, even upon the names of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, let us seek for grace by that *one* baptism, the administration of which he has vested solely in the church. Let us rest assured that our concord and brotherly love, and the presenting of ourselves as a people united, concerning the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is an acceptable sacrifice to God *; and accordingly, by rendering obedience to him, whom by baptism we have put on, Galat. iii. 27, let us labour with our utmost strength, and with our utmost speed hasten, to conciliate "Christ, our Judge, our Lord, and our God †," who will comply with the prayers of those that confess him ‡, and who, looking into the purposes of the faithful mind, will deal out the reward of glory in proportion to the degree of our attachment to him. §

That,

¶ Ad debellandum diabolum, de divinis castris, cum plenâ & sincerâ Dei Patris & Christi & Spiritûs Sancti cognitione, procedere. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. p. 2c8.

* "Qui baptizatus sit, gratiam consequi potuerit, invocâtâ Trinitate nominum Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti."—"Sacrificium Deo majus est pax nostra, & fraterna concordia, & de unitate Patris, & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti adunata. Firmiliani Epist. lxxv. p. 221, & Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 149.

† Quibus possumus viribus elaborare (*debemus*) & velociter gerere, ut Christum Judicem & Dominum & Deum promereamur obsequiis nostris: cum, quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, &c. Galat. iii. 27. Cyprian. Epist. lxxii. p. 146.

‡ Credo enim Christum, martyribus suis petentibus indulturum. Celerini Epistola ad Lucianum Confessorem inter Cypr. Epist. xxi. p. 45.
—Celerinus also was a confessor. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. xliii.

§ Hanc cogitationem nostram Deus videat, hoc propositum mentis & fidei

That, previous to the Council of Nice, there lived a Person of the name of HIPPOLYTUS, who drew his pen in the cause of Christianity, is certain: but the precise time in which he flourished, the ecclesiastical

fidei Dominus Christus aspiciat, daturus eis gloriæ suæ ampliora præmia, quorum circa se fuerint desideria majora. Cypr. de Mortalitate, ad fin.

A. D. 256 a council was convened at Carthage, at which, besides a numerous body of the church, seventy-eight African bishops gave their attendance. From this great synod the doctrine of Cyprian concerning baptism received its confirmation. The Bishops severally delivered, and for the most part in one short sentence, each comprized his opinion. "Christ, our Lord and God," say they, "going to the Father, commended to us (*the church*) his spouse; and whether shall we preserve her unseduced and inviolate, or betray her innocence and chastity to the adulterer?" "Instructing the apostles with his own mouth, our God and Lord Jesus Christ has fully perfected our faith, and the grace of baptism, and the rule of law to the church, saying, "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," Matth. xxviii. 19. False, therefore, is the baptism of heretics, from whose mouth proceeds, not life, but poison; not the grace of heaven, but a blasphemy of the Trinity." "But upon a rock, and not upon heresy, has Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the Son of the Father and Creator, founded his church." "And it cannot enter into doubt, that human presumption is weak, when compared with the adorable and fearful majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ." "Since, therefore, we evidently know that heretics have not the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Ghost," "it is also evident that heretics, that is, the enemies of Christ, do not make the full and entire confession which is necessary to this sacrament."

VENANTIUS *a* *Tenisâ*.

Christus Dominus & DEUS noster ad Patrem proficiscens sponsam suam nobis commendavit. Utrumne eam incorruptam & inviolatam custodimus, an integritatem ejus & castitatem mæchis & corruptoribus prodemus? Cypriani Concil. Carthagin. p. 238.

Venantius was a *confessor*; that is, a Christian who had undergone, and yet survived, the judgement of a Pagan tribunal, without swerving from his profession of Christ. Among the many devices framed by "*the mild genius of Rome and Polytheism*," the preservation of life for the protraction of torment was not one of the least remarkable. Lactantius declares that the diligence used to this end was as great as if their solicitude sprung from affection. The faith of Venantius is evident here, and that he was one of those "who with a glorious voice confessed his God;" and from the 86th epistle of Cyprian, it is equally certain that those men who were con-

tical function which he discharged, and even the place of his residence, are points by no means decided. He is supposed, and I think upon very good grounds, to have been an Arabian Bishop, and to have suffered martyr-

condemned to the mines, and to whom he directs it, were sufferers for the same confession, that they were under condemnation as "martyrs of God the Father almighty, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, God, and Saviour, from whom they hoped for eternal salvation, and by whom, even in the midst of their toil and bondage, they were refreshed and cherished." *Qui gloriosa voce Deum confessi.* Cyprian. *Epist. v. p. 10.* *Martyribus Dei Patris omnipotentis & Jesu Christi Domini & Dei conservatoris nostri.*—*In metallis non fovetur lecto & culcitrīs corpus, sed refrigerio & solatio Christi fovetur—quæ exultantia in metallo corde regnante scire Christum secum esse præsentem!* *Epist. lxxxvi. p. 231, 233.* See above, p. 249.

EUCHRATIUS a Thenis.

Fidem nostram, & baptismatis gratiam, & legis ecclesiasticæ regulam, DEUS & Dominus noster Jesus Christus, suo ore apostolos docens, perim-plevit, dicens, "Ite & docete, &c." *Matth. xxviii. 19.* Falsum ergo hæreticorum baptismus, de quorum ore virus, non vita, nec gratia cœlestis, sed blasphemia Trinitatis exprimitur. *Cypr. Concil. Carthagin. p. 235.*

FORTUNATUS a Thucabori.

Jesus Christus Dominus & DEUS noster, Dei Patris & Creatoris Filius, super Petram ædificavit ecclesiam suam, & non super hæresin. *Ejusdem lib. p. 233.*

FELIX ab Utbinâ.

Nemini dubium est non in tantum posse humanam præsumptionem, quantum DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI ADORANDAM ET VENERABILEM MAJESTATEM. *Ejusd. lib. p. 335.*

MONNULUS a Gîrbâ.

Cum ergo manifeste sciamus hæreticos non habere, nec Patrem, nec Filium, nec Spiritum Sanctum. *Ejusd. lib. p. 232.*

LUCIUS a Castro Galbæ.

Ergo manifestum sit hæreticos, id est, hostes Christi, non integram sacramenti confessionem habere. *Ejusd. lib. p. 232.*

A council held at Arles, A. D. 317, gives the same opinion, and declares, "Si quis ab hæresi venerit, interrogent eum symbolum, & si perviderint eum in Patre, & Filio, & Spiritu Sancto baptizatum esse, manus ei tantum imponentur."

See above, p. 203.

Origen, as well as Eusebius, has denominated Christ "ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ, and explained the term by adding, hoc est, PER SE DEUS. *Orig. in Joann. Evang. tom. II. p. 173.* See above, p. 256.

martyrdom in the year 230. But be this as it may, an antient monument has preserved the titles of several works ascribed to him, and we are possessed of some tracts which correspond with these titles; they are not, however, of unquestionable authority: my extracts therefore from the unauthenticated pages shall be very brief; and even these shall be such as are least liable to dispute, having been cited by antient Authors, who undoubtedly read the genuine productions of this Writer, or already adduced by moderns to the maintenance of the argument which I now support, and consequently bearing the marks of a favourable Judgement from those learned men who have esteemed them of weight in this important cause.

“Coming forth into the world,” he tells us, “that Jesus Christ appeared both God and Man: His Manhood,” he says, “is easily comprehended from the several imbecillities which characterized the several sufferings which afflicted him. But his Godhead may be easily discerned from the adoration of Angels, the numerous miracles which he performed, and the powers which he imparted to his Disciples;” and indeed “you have seen it revealed, that as concerning the Flesh, he is of David, but according to the Spirit, of God.—Whence it is demonstrated that he is at once both God and Man.” *

To

See above, p. 26.

* Hippolyti Episcopi & Martiris Arabum metropolis in memoria Hæresum. Hic procedens in mundum Deus & Homo apparuit; et Hominem quidem ejus facile est intelligere, cum esurit, & fatigatur, & laborat, & sitit, & formidat, & figit, orat. contristatur, & super cervical dormit, & calicem respuit passionis, & anxius sudat, & ab angelo confortatur, & a Juda traditur, & contumeliam patitur, a Caiaphâ & ab Herode despicitur, a Pilato flagellatur, & a militibus illuditur, & a Judæis Igno configitur, & ad Patrem clamans commendat Spiritum, & inclinato capite Spiritum tradit, Latus lancea perforatur, involutus in Sindone ponitur in sepulchro & a patre die tertia suscitatur. Divinitatem vero ejus videre rursus clarum est,

To the Son he ascribes the same Divine Nature, and the same attributes as to the Father, to wit, "Existence without commencement, and without having been made, Infinity, Eternity, and Incomprehensibility." * And in his Homily on Antichrist, he introduces the Saints in the final Judgement thus addressing Christ the Lord: "O thou who art terrible, when saw we thee naked and cloathed thee? O thou who art immortal, when saw we thee a stranger and took thee in? O thou who art merciful, when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? For thou art eternal; thou art with the Father uncommenced, with the Holy Ghost co-eternal; thou art he who out of nothing hast made all things." † This worship, however, in a work entitled *of one God in three Persons, &c.* "he avers, does not comprehend a Plurality of Gods; for that while he acknowledges

est, quando laudatur ab angelis, & hoc a pastoribus inspicitur, & expectatur a Simeone, & ab Anna testimonium perhibetur, & queritur a magis, & ab stella designatur, & aqua in nuptiis operator vinum, & increpat mare violentia commotum ventorum, & ambulat super mare & cæcum ex nativitate videre facit, & mortuum Lazarum quatriuagium resuscitat, & varias facit virtutes, datque discipulis potestatem.

Ejusdem. Vidiſti quod secundum carnem quidem ejus est. ex David narrat, quod vero secundum Spiritum ex Deo: quapropter probatum est eundem & Deum & Hominem. Gelasius Ep. sc. Rom. A. D. 492, ad Episc. Illyr. Epist. 2da, Bibliotheca P. P. apud Sonnum Paris. Fol. Tom. v. P. 478.

* Apud Anastasium Bibliothecarium in collectaneis, Fragm. 60, p. 228. Filio eandem prorsus naturam divinam addicit (Hippolytus) quæ in patre est, easdemque Proprietates; nempe ἀναρχίαν, ἀγεννησίαν, ἀωσιάν, ἀϊδιότητα, ἀκαταληψίαν. Imprincipalitatem, infactionem, sempiternitatem, incomprehensibilitatem, ut verè licet Barbarè vertit Anastasius. Sensit itaque Hippolytus, Filium esse perinde ac Patrem ἀνάρχον ἢ ἄδιον, initii expertem & æternum.—Bulli Defensio Fidei Nicenæ. Sect. 3, cap. 8.

† In eo (libro de Antichristo) Hippolytus in extremo Judicio (Sanctos) introducitur Christum Dominum ita alloquentes. Φοβερέ, πότε σε ἴδομεν, &c. ἀθάνατε, πότε σε, &c. φιλόανθρωπε, πότε σε, &c. ut Mat. 25. 38, 39. Σὺ εἶ ὁ αἰὶ ὄν· σὺ εἶ ὁ συνάναρχος τῷ Πατρὶ ἢ συνκαίδι τῷ Πνεύματι. σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐκ μὴ ἑγὼν τὰ πάντα ποιῶν. Ib.

knowledges the Godhead of the Word, according to John i. 1. he does not yet herein profess two Gods, but one God and two Persons.*

Prudentius has recorded the martyrdom of one named HIPPOLYTUS, an Italian Presbyter, who suffering a death of exquisite torture at Rome, followed the example of St. Stephen, and recommended "his soul to Christ." † Notwithstanding that some have confounded them, I have not a doubt that these are two distinct Persons of the same denomination. ‡

Besides

* Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ὁ λογος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς ᾧν, τὶ ἐν φήσειαν ἦς δύο λέγειν Θεὸς; δύο μὲν ἐκ ἐρῶ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο. Adv. Noetum.

† — Tu rape Christe Animam. Prudentii peri Stephanôn. Hym. xi. N^o. 105. See above, p. 135.

‡ As dubious writings cannot be applied to prove any Doctrine of Faith, and as I find no other writers whose works are not very questionable, I wave the use of many Tracts which appear in the Bibliotheca Patrum. Bishop Bull has, however, stamped a value on some passages ascribed to METHODIUS, Bishop of Tyre, who suffered martyrdom under Dioclesian, A. D. 302. Photius also, Bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 860, has preserved a considerable fragment from this Author.

This Father speaks of our Lord's Eternity and Assumption of our nature, and avers, that "the Son, when he was God himself, chose to put on human Flesh;" and that "the Man Christ was full of the pure and perfect Godhead."

Μήτις αὖ προὔπαρξάντα τέλει ἐσχέκεναι, ἀλλὰ εἶναι αἰεὶ τὸν αἰώνιον—πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρώπησεως τῷ Χριστῷ. Phot. Bibliothec. Genev. 1611, Fol. p. 959.

Ex consilio elegit humanam carnem, Deus ipse cum esset, induere, ut velut in tabulâ divinum exemplar vitæ propositum intuentes Pictoris in exprimendo fidelitatem imitaremur.—Christum Hominem merâ Divinitate & perfectâ plenum & Deum in homine quodammodo inclusum.—Meth. Orat. 1 & 2. Bibliothec. P.P. Tom. iii. p. 678, 681, a Bull. citat. p. 167.

Besides the many Christian Writers who have been already produced in evidence of their own Faith, there were several others whose works have perished: For the preservation of a few fragments, however, which evince their religious sentiments, we are obliged to the subsequent Writers of the Church. To these we are likewise indebted for having committed to writing the Doctrines which were orally promulged by a few eminent Preachers of the Gospel; and also for having transmitted the testimony borne by an army of Martyrs,

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HERMIAS and MINUTIUS FELIX have both rather exposed and derided the weakness of idolatry than declared the Doctrines of the Gospel; from these two writers, therefore, I can deduce nothing decisive. ACHELAUS, in his dispute with a Manichæan, is not more explicit on the tenet under enquiry. —

Origen, it is true, has quoted the RECOGNITIONS ascribed to Clemens Romanus; but Epiphanius, about the year 370, sets their authority quite aside: for he declares them adulterated throughout by the Ebionites. Dr. Mosheim goes farther, and thinks, that not only the recognitions, but the Constitutions and Clementina are falsely attributed to S. Clement. — Were they indisputably the work of that Apostolic Father, it were superfluous to adduce them in proof of that Faith which he has been already heard to profess. Such passages, however, as have escaped heretical corruption, are certainly of the Ante-Nicene Ages of the Church, and the following Professions, Prayers, and Praises seem not to have been interpolated by the pen of one who entertained mean and derogatory conceptions of the character and dignity of our Redeemer, whose Eternity he acknowledges, and whom he thus addresses: “O God, the only begotten, Son of the mighty Father, rebuke thou the spirits of iniquity, and deliver the works of thine own hands, from the influence of every spirit at enmity with thee: wherefore, to thee be glory, honour, and adoration, and through thee to the Father in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, Amen.” “We confess that Christ is not a meer man, but God the Word and Man, the Mediator between God and Men, the Priest of the Father:” “That the Lord God, who appeared to us in the flesh,” “was pleased, on our account, to be born of a Woman; that he appeared in life, in his baptism demonstrating, that he who was manifested was God and Man; that for us he suffered, O Father, by thy permission, and that being dead he was raised again by thy power:” “Gather us, therefore, together into the kingdom of heaven in Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom, to thee, and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory:” “To thee

which the sanguinary rage of Pagan zeal had arrayed, and which sustained a warfare in defence of the Divinity of their Lord. As these witnesses do not directly speak for themselves, I have deferred calling on them till after many others whom they had preceded in point of time: That they wrote, or otherwise testified their Faith in Jesus Christ, within the period under enquiry, is enough to ascertain. The more minute observation of order seems to me a superfluous and unnecessary attention.

EUSEBIUS,

thee be glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, and to thy Child Jesus Christ our Lord, and God, and King, and to the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, Amen."

Christus qui ab initio & semper erat. *Recognit. Lib. i.*—Unigenitum Verbum Deum, Regem & Dominum omnis intellectivæ & sensitivæ naturæ, qui est ante omnia, per quem omnia.—Unigenite Deus magni Patris Fili, increpa Spiritus nequam, & libera opera manuum tuarum ab alieni Spiritus vexatione, quoniam tibi gloria, honor, & adoratio, & per te tuo Patri in Sancto Spiritu in secula, Amen.—Christum non confitemur purum hominem, sed Deum Verbum & Hominem, mediatorem Dei & Hominum, pontificem Patris.—Deus Dominus qui apparuit nobis in carne—propter nos nasci voluit ex muliere, apparuit in vitâ, demonstrans se in Baptismo quod Deus & Homo erat qui apparuit; pro nobis passus est tuâ permissione, et mortuus tua potentia suscitatus.—Nos omnes congrega in regnum cælorum in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, cum quo tibi gloria, honor, cultus, & Sancto Spiritui in secula, Amen.—Tibi gloria, laus, majestas, cultus, & adoratio, & puero tuo Jesu Christo Domino nostro, & Deo, & Regi, & Sancto Spiritui nunc & semper & in secula seculorum, Amen.—*Constitutionum S. Apostolorum, Lib. viii. c. 16, 8, Lib. vi. c. 14. Lib. vii. c. 27, 36. Lib. viii. c. 22, 23.*—

The Harmony of the four Gospels ascribed to AMMONIUS of Alexandria, the Master of Origen, commences thus: "In the beginning was the Word, by whom all things were created, or by which all things were founded; in the end he has now been made flesh, and that by a new mode of birth, having been born of the Virgin Mary."

In principio erat Verbum per quod condita sunt omnia, in fine tandem temporum caro factum, idque novo nascendi modo, ex Virgine Maria.—*Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. ii. p. 105.*—

VICTORINUS, Bishop of Pitabion in Pannonia, A. D. 270, wrote a comment on the Apocalypse: We are possessed of a work bearing this title, which

EUSEBIUS, who, in the fourth century, wrote the History of the Christian Church, and who commences his own work with an earnest prayer to the Father, and to the Word his Son, who had been manifested to us*, has recorded, that the Apostle THAD-DÆUS (Matth. x. 3.) attested to Agbarus, King of Edessa, that “our Lord God, Jesus Christ, fulfilled the will of his Father; and having fulfilled it ascended up to his Father †. And that having, by miracles,

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which is attributed to him; it is, however, but of disputable authority. The writer says, “we profess that Christ, the Son of God, was begotten of the Father before all ages, and was a spiritual Being; that he was made Man, and that having overcome Death, he was received up by the Father into Heaven with his body; that he poured forth the Holy Ghost, as his gift and a pledge of immortality.”

Dicimus & hujus Filium Christum ante originem seculi spiritualement apud Patrem genitum, hominem factum, & morte victum in celos cum corpore a Patre receptum, effudisse Spiritum Sanctum donum & pignus immortalitatis. Bibliothec. P.P.—

I know of no other writer that has any tolerable pretensions to authenticity: The claims of ANATOLIUS appear unsupported, nor do those of “COMMODIANUS, the beggar of Jesus Christ,” seem better founded.

* Τὸν τῷ Λόγῳ Πατέρα Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν δηλούμενον αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐράνιον τῷ Θεῷ Λόγον, βοηθὸν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἀληθείας ἘΠΙ-ΚΑΛΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. i. cap. v. p. 16. Vide supra, p. 278.

Ἀὐτὸν ΓΕΡΑΙΟΜΕΝ μὴ φωναῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ διαθέσει ψυχῆς. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. iii. p. 14. Eusebius also declares, that “the only begotten Son, the Word of God, reigns together with his Father, from uncommenced to endless and indeterminable ages. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ μονογενὴς Λόγος, τῷ αὐτῷ Πατρὶ συμ-βασιλεύων ἐξ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπεῖρος καὶ ἀλελειμένης αἰῶνας. Euseb. Orat. de Laud. Constant. p. 719. Refer this to p. 28 and 192 above, and let it stand a permanent confutation of all the Unitarian sophistry on the subject there discussed.

† Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ θέλημα τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτῷ πεπλήρωκε, καὶ πληρώσας, ἀναλήφθη πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνῳ Πατέρα. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. i. Sec. i. cap. xiii. p. 40.—Edit. Cantab. à Reading, Fol. 1720. I have nothing to say to the story, but as it is related by Eusebius,

convinced the people of Edessa, "he brought them to the worship of the power of Christ." †

HEGESIPPUS, the earliest Ecclesiastical Historian, in his narrative of St. James's martyrdom, quoted by Eusebius, relates that, "upon the testimony of that Apostle, the people cried Hosanna, and glorified the Son of David." *

MELITO, Bishop of Sardis in Asia, towards the close of the second century, is quoted in the Alexandrian Chronicle, (Olymp. 236.) as having declared that the Christians do not adore insensible stones; but that they worship one God alone, who is before all things, and in all things, and Jesus Christ, who is God and the Word before all ages †. And "who is he," says GAIUS, A. D. 220, "that knows not the writings of Melito, which declare Christ to be both God and Man? §

THEOGNOSTUS, an Ante-Nicene Writer, much applauded by Athanasius, has maintained, and endeavoured to illustrate, the consubstantiality of the Father and Son, in a manner so very similar to that used by Tertullian, in

† Ἐπὶ σέβας ἀγαγὼν τῆς τῷ Χριστῷ δυνάμεως. Lib. ii. c. i. Sec. i, p. 45.

* Πόλλων πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δοξαζόντων, ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὑῖου Δαβὶδ. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii. p. 79.

† Du Pin. Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 55.

§ Ταῦτα γὰρ Ἐιρηναῖος τε καὶ Μελλίτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἀγνοεῖ βιβλία, Θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐκλογὴν τὸν Χριστόν. — Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. cap. xxviii. p. 252.

In support of the indivisible unity of the three Persons in the Godhead, that instead of superfluously translating the words of this Father, I refer the reader to p. 223 above. §

The Emperor CONSTANTINE, in his Oration to the Church, published by Eusebius, has quoted an Acrostic from the Erythræan SIBYL, which asserts, that “the Faithful and Infidel shall behold the most high God clothed in flesh;” and concludes with a declaration, that “it is God our Saviour the immortal King who has suffered for us.” *

But it is said that the Sibylline Oracles are a forgery. I grant it: but how does this affect the present argument?

§ Θεογονίας μὲν ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἔπαρητήσατο τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὈΥΣΪΑΣ
 εἰπεῖν· γράφων γὰρ περὶ υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ὑπολυπώσεων
 ἦλως ἔγραψεν· ἐκ ἐξωθεν τις ἐστὶν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἢ τὴν “Υἱὸς ἐστὶς,
 ἐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισέχθη· ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τῷ Πατρὶ ἐστὶς ἐφύ·
 ὡς τῷ φωτὶ, τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· ὡς ὑδατὶ ἀτμίς· ἦτε γὰρ τὸ
 ἀπαύγασμα, ἔτε ἡ ἀτμίς, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν, ἡ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος.
 ἔτε ἀλλότριον· ἀλλὰ ἀπορροια τῆς τῷ Πατρὶ ἐστὶς· ἔμερισμόν
 ὑπομεινάσας τῆς τῷ Πατρὶ ἐστὶς· ὡς γὰρ μένων ὁ ἥλιος ὁ αὐτὸς
 ἔμεναι ταῖς ἐκχεομέναις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνυγαῖς, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ ἐστὶς
 τῷ Πατρὶ ἀλλοίωσιν ὑπέμεινε, εἰκόνα ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσα τὸν ὕιον.—
 Athanasii Synodi Nicænæ contra Heræsim Arianorum Decret. p. 421,
 Ex Officina Commeliniana, 1600, Fol.

* Ὁψόναι Θεὸν — πίσι καὶ ἀπίσι

Υψιστον — — —

Σαρκοφόρον — — —

Ὁυὶς ὁ — Θεὸς ἡμῶν

Σωτήρ, ἀδανάσις βασιλεὺς ὁ πάθων ἐνεχ’ ἡμῶν.

Euseb. Constantini Oratio ad Sanctorum Cætum, p. 701.

The initials of this Acrostic are, Ἰησοῦς χρεῖς Θεὸς Υἱὸς Σωτήρ
 σωρ.

ment? Let us say, that they were fabricated with a view to promote the Christian cause; it is not then to another cause that the Sibyl is feigned to have given her sanction. Her authority is most certainly called upon to maintain the sentiments of the person, or perhaps conspiracy, which believed it might have weight with the Pagan world. Rome, though she disregarded the prophecy of the Jew, revered the predictions of the Sibyl; to these then she was referred, and an artful fiction had adapted these to the narrative of the Gospel: but how that narrative was understood by a Christian writer, previous to the days of Justin Martyr, (for Justin too has quoted the Sibyl) is a point easily determined. The supposititious prophecy is made to quadrate with the event, which was, therefore, unquestionably understood to be, that he who had taken upon him our nature, and died for our offences, was no other than the almighty and immortal God,

St. Basil assures us that JULIUS AFRICANUS, a writer of the highest reputation, early in the third century, has declared that, “not ignorant of the grace of faith, we give thanks to him who bestowed upon our fathers the Saviour of all men, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and majesty for ever.”* The same doxology he says was used by Gregory Thaumaturgus, (see p. 303 above) by Firmilianus, (see p. 346 above) and by MELETIUS, a name cited by Athanasius, and spoken of by Eusebius with the greatest respect. †

BASIL,

* Τῆς πίστεως ἐκ ἀγνοούντες τὴν χάριν εὐχαριστέμεν τῷ παρασχομένῳ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡμῶν πατράσι, τὸν τῶν ὅλων Σωτήρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη σὺν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας. Jul. African. a Basilio citat. in libro suo de Spiritu Sancto, cap. xxix. p. 219. Edit. Fol. apud Sonnium, Paris. 1548.

† Ibid.—Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. ult.

BASIL was himself Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, A. D. 369; he avers that “ the people repeat that *an-tient or primitive* saying, We ascribe glory, or, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. * And for a testimony borne to the divinity of the Holy Ghost, he immediately refers to the dying Hymn of the Martyr ATHENOGENES. †

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 247, having been accused of saying, that the Son was a creature, exculpates himself from the charge before a council convened by Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, and peremptorily asserts, that “ he does not declare the Son to have been made; but that, on the contrary, he confesses him to be of one substance with the Father ‡. And in language similar to that of Julius Africanus, who has been just now cited, he calls on us “ who have received the form and ordinance from our predecessors to join our voices to theirs, and offer up our thanksgivings. To God, therefore, the Father, and to the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost, be glory and power for ever and ever, Amen.” §—It follows

* Λόος ἈΡΧΑΪΑΝ ἀφίησι τὴν φωνήν, ἈΙΝΟΥΜΕΝ Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιόν Πνεῦμα Θεῶ. Ejusd. lib. p. 220.

† Ibid. — Basil has not preserved any passage from this Hymn, nor does he recount any particulars of the Author: That his martyrdom by fire, and his Hymn, were subjects very generally known, is evident from the manner in which the Father has adverted to them.

‡ Μηδὲ γὰρ ποιητὸν εἰρηκέναι τὸν Υἱόν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν διέβεβαιώσατο. Athanasii Synod. Nicæn. contra Hæresin Arian. Decret. p. 421.

§ Ἡμεῖς, παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπων καὶ κανόνα περιληφότες, ὁμοφώνως αὐτοῖς προσευχαρισῆντες—τῷ δὲ Θεῷ Πατρί, καὶ Υἱῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ (ὡν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων, Ἀμήν. Dionys. Alexandr. a Basil. citat. in libro de Sp. Sanct. cap. xxix. p. 218.

Ruffinus,

lows also, from this narrative, that the Church, before which the imputed Unitarianism of Dionysius was considered as erroneous, was not itself an Unitarian Church.

Athanasius has extracted and preserved the following passage from a letter written by DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Rome, in the name of the COUNCIL, before whom the Bishop of Alexandria had been accused of Heresy: "It is necessary that the Divine Word shall be one with the God of the universe, and that the Holy Ghost should adhere and reside in God; it is likewise necessary that the Holy Trinity should converge into unity, and, as it were, draw to a point or summit, which is the Almighty God of the universe." *

HOSIUS, a Spanish Bishop, at whose instance the Council of Nice was convened †, in an epistle quoted by Athanasius, declares, "I do not concur with the Arians, but altogether anathematize and abjure their Heresy." ‡ What occasioned this categorical renunciation

Rufinus, in his Apology for Origen, (see above, p. 291.) has declared that "Dionysius has strenuously defended the Unity and Equality of the Trinity." In quamplurimis Unitatem & Æqualitatem Trinitatis defendit.—Inter Orig. Oper. Tom. i. p. 494.

* Ἡνώσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὸν Θεῖον λόγον· ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐνδαιψᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἥδη καὶ τὴν Θεῖαν τριάδα εἰς ἓνα ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τίνα, τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω, συγκεφαλαιῶσθαι τι καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. Athanas. Synod. Nic. contra Her. Arian. Decret. p. 421.

† Sulpicius Severus Sac. Hist. Lib. ii. p. 108. Edit. Elzev. 1656.

‡ Ἐγὼ ἔτε Ἀρειανοῖς συγκλίθεμαι: ἄλλα δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν ἀναδεμαλίζω. Athanas. Epist. ad solit. Vit. agent. p. 651.

tion of the Unitarian Heresy, does not appear from the Father who has preserved it. An early Ecclesiastical Historian, however, has furnished ground for a conjecture, that this venerable Bishop has thus vehemently condemned the Arian Tenets, in refutation of an opinion entertained by some, that he had lapsed from his original faith and embraced them: If this idea be just, Hosius appears in his own defence, and has himself rejected the report as a calumny. * I do not rely on this.

Josephus has ascribed the destruction of Jerusalem to the cruelty of the Jews in putting St. James to death: “ But why,” says Origen, “ is it not more reasonable to say, that it was effected on account of Jesus Christ, to whose Godhead so many churches of men, who have been purged from all the dregs of evil, bear witness?” †

Of the truth of this assertion, I have already produced some proofs; for the tenets of the Phrygian church, see above, p. 237, the note; and for a passage from Eusebius of the same import as this from Origen, see p. 256. We have also the testimony of Sulpicius Severus, that the primitive CHURCH OF JERUSALEM believed our Lord to be God. †

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* Sulp. Sev. p. 108.

† Πῶς ἔχει ἐυλογώτερον διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸτο φάσκειν γεγονέναι; ἢ τῆς Θεοότητος μάρτυρες αἱ τοσαῦται μετὰβαλλόμεναι ἀπο τῆς χύσεως τῶν κακῶν ἐκκλησιαί, καὶ ἡρημένων τῷ δημιουργῷ, καὶ παντὶ ἀναφερόντων ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀρέσκειαν. Origen. contra Celsum, p. 36.

† Tum (sc. imperante Hadriano, A. D. 120.) pene omnes CHRISTUM DEUM sub legis observatione credebant. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. Lib. ii. p. 99. Edit. Elzev.—Eusebius concurs: for he tells us, Ἐβραῖοις τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι. Hist. Eccl. Lib. iv. c. v.

The CHURCHES of LYONS and VIENNA, in an Epistle very generally directed, commence the narrative of their sufferings under L. Verus, A. D. 168, with a prayer for “ peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord.” * I shall, as much as possible, avoid engaging in the melancholy tale; the very few words which fell from the dying lips of such martyrs as “ Christ was pleased should be taken hence in the very act of confession,” † or such expressions as betray the religious sentiments of the antient Churches in Gaul, I shall lay before my reader; and, few as they are, I trust they are sufficient to discredit, nay absolutely to disprove the imputation of Unitarianism.

“ Nothing,” say the writers, “ is terrible where the love of the Father is; nothing is grievous where subsists the glory of Christ;” ‡ whose immeasurable compassion and long-suffering were displayed in the martyrdom of Pothinus, who, though bent with the decrepitude of ninety years, “ retained yet life sufficient for the triumph of Christ,” and in the recall of some who had, through apprehension of death, fallen into a temporary apostacy; for in the return of these Christ was glorified before the Gentiles, who had, in their fall, considered them-

* Ὅτι ἐν βιέννῃ καὶ Λυγδύνῃ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικῆτες δούλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εἰρήνη, καὶ χάρις, καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 198.

† Ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστὸς ἠξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι. Euseb. Lib. cap. ii. p. 211.

‡ Μηδὲν φοβερὸν ὅπου Πατὴρ ἀγάπη, μὴ δὲ ἀλγεῖνόν ὅπου Χριστὸς δόξα. Euseb. Lib. cap. i. p. 203.

themselves triumphant over his name ; * an assertion in concurrence with which we are told by Gaius, that Natalis, after his perversion to the Heresy of Theodotus, was miraculously recovered to the truth ; “ for our most merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ was not willing that he, who was a witness of his own sufferings, should perish without the church.” †

It is difficult to decide which is the most wonderful, the inventive cruelty of the persecutor, or the persevering constancy of a young woman named BLANDINA, who, after she had sustained torments hardly conceivable, at length expired on the horns of a bull. She was, however, say the martyrologists, rendered in a manner insensible to the torments inflicted by her murderer, by means of the hope through which she seemed even to possess the object of her faith, and by that communion which (by prayer) she had so intimately entered into with Christ. ‡ I intentionally omit such prayers or assertions as are addressed to, or spoken of, *the Lord*,
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without

* Τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστῷ—τηρυμένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς Χριστὸς θριαμβεύσῃ.—Ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἀρνησαμένοις, τότε, παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ὑπόνοιαν, ὁμολογῶσι. P. 207.

† Ἐυσπλαγχτὸς Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκ ἐθέλειο ἔξω ἐκκλησίας γινόμενον ἀπολέσθαι μάρτυρα τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. xxviii. p. 253.

Natalis had been a Confessor, that is, one who had resolutely sustained, and yet survived, the tortures inflicted with a view to compel apostacy ; such were frequently termed Martyrs, or Witnesses of Christ's sufferings, which is the meaning of the term in this passage. Let us reject the miracle, the narrative is sufficient for me, it was made in the third century.

‡ Μὴ δὲ αἰσθησιν ἔτι τῶν Συμβαίνειντων ἔχουσα (Βλανδίνα ἰπαρὶς τῆς Χριστῷ δοξῆς παθῶν) διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεποιημένων, καὶ ἰμμήλιαν πρὸς Χριστόν. P. 209. Russian warrants of translation.

without farther specification; tho' in my own mind convinced, that it was "by our Saviour these martyrs are said to have been fortified or strengthened both in body and mind." Tho' convinced that it is "to our Saviour that their prayers in imitation of St. Stephen were addressed," yet, as the term by which he is signified is said to be of equivocal interpretation, I have thought proper not to adduce the passages which contain them: For the same reason, though satisfied myself, I have omitted to call the words of a very considerable number of martyrs into evidence of their faith.* They have spoken of the Lord in terms of the utmost veneration, and we are even told, that in themselves they displayed the tokens of *our Saviour's* divine and unspeakable power. †

PHILEAS, Bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, who suffered martyrdom under Maximin, has recorded some of the astonishing cruelties with which Christianity was oppressed by the *Genius of Polytheism*; and, in an Epistle from Alexandria, describes the sufferers "as cheerfully fixing their mental eyes upon him who is God over all, and giving a welcome reception to death for the maintenance of their faith, to which they had firmly adhered, from a conviction that our Lord Jesus Christ had taken Manhood for our sake, that he might abolish sin, and prepare the way for such as seek eternal life." ‡

ALPHÆUS

* For instance, Potamiana, who unquestionably suffered for the faith of Christ, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως. Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. v. p. 263. but called upon the Lord for his grace, παρακεκλημένοι χάριν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κύριον. Ibid.

† Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Ὁλοῦ ἡμῶν Θείας ὡς ἀληθοῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως ἑφανῇ δι' ἐαυτῶν τὰ τεκμήρια παρεστήσαντο.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 393.

‡ Μάρτυρες, τὸ τῆς Ψυχῆς ὄμμα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν καταποῶς τεινάντες, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' ἐντεβείᾳ θάνατον ἐν ᾧ λαβόντες, ἀπαρίττ

ALPHÆUS and ZACCHÆUS having, in the persecution under Maximin in Palestine, endured the most excruciating torments, were at length beheaded for persisting in their belief and confession of one God alone, and one Christ Jesus their King. * PORPHYRIUS died, “ invoking Jesus the Son of God to be his assistant :” † And in the Thebaid, or southward part of Ægypt, Eusebius on his own knowledge asserts, that “ PHILOROMUS set every worldly advantage at nought, in comparison of true piety and faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ.” ‡ “ At Tyre he was also a witness to the testimony borne by many martyrs to the divine Power of our Saviour Jesus Christ,” || under whose banner many chose to enlist as the soldiers of his Kingdom, in preference to secular glory and the prosperity of this world. §

In

Ἐπὶ τῆς κλήσεως ἔιχοντο· τὸν μὲν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
εὐρόντες ἐνανθροπήσαντα δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα πᾶσαν μὲν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκκόψῃ,
ἐφ' ὅδια δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν εἰσόδου ἡμῖν καταδηλαίῃ· ὃ γὰρ
ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο, &c. Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
Lib. viii. cap. x. p. 388.

* Μόνον ἓνα Θεὸν καὶ μόνον Χριστὸν βασιλεῖα Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογήσαντες.
Euseb. de Martyribus Palæstinæ, cap. i. cum Hist. Eccl. p. 409.

† Τὸν Ὑιὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν βοηθὸν ἘΠΙΒΟΨΜΕΝΟΣ. Euseb.
Lib. p. 431.

‡ Πάντα γε μὴν δούλερα δέμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας, καὶ
τῆς εἰς τὸν Ὁλῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως· οὗ
Φιλόρωμος ἦν. Euseb. Hist. Ec. Lib. viii. cap. ix. p. 386.

|| Ὅις γινόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ παρῆμεν, ὁπνύμενα τοῦ μαρτυρουμένου
Ὁλῆρος ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τὴν θεϊὰν δύναμιν ἐκπαύσαν,
ἐναργῶς τε αὐτὴν τοῖς μάρτυσιν ἐπιδεικνύσαν ἐξοφῆσαμεν. Euseb.
Lib. cap. vii.

§ Πλείστοι ὅσοι τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ζητοῦνται, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν
ὁμολογίαν μὴ μελλήσαντες, τῆς δοκῆσης δόξης καὶ ἐνδοξασίας ἧς εἰχόμενοι
ἀναμφιλόως περιέμνησαν. Euseb. Lib. cap. iv.

The

In the year 276, the eastern Bishops, convened in a SYNOD at ANTIOCH, condemned the tenets of Paul of Samosata, concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity as heretical and impious. To that council, though to the Pagan Gallio, who “cared for none of these things,” they might have seemed *nice and subtle*, the errors of this most wonderfully immoral man appeared obvious and important. “To the denial of his God and Lord, and apostacy from that faith which he had originally professed, they naturally ascribed the violation of his engagements;” to his impiety, the uncontrolled indulgence of every inordinate appetite; * for his heresy alone it is true they excommunicated and deposed him from the Episcopacy of Antioch, for beyond this species of criminality their jurisdiction extended not; so that Mr. Gibbon

The ten Persecutions, or rather the one uninterrupted persecution, which raged from the first carnage by Nero to the accession of Constantine, has contributed a prodigious number of testimonies of the same nature with those adduced above: I shall, however, rest here. The Martyrologists, after the Nicene Council, may be said to have misrepresented facts in order to abet their cause; or may possibly have adorned their subject by the fiction of words which were never pronounced; or what is more certain, there have descended to our times but very few writings of this nature which are free from the suspicion of having been adulterated. From Eusebius alone I have therefore deduced this species of evidence; the time in which he lived, and the virtues which adorned his life, exempt his veracity from the slightest doubt. I have by no means selected all the instances recorded by him, they would be unnecessary: See however p. 199—393—433, in which the martyrdom of Vettius Epaphroditus, Lucian, and Julian are related, &c. &c.—See also his other writings.

* Ἀνεβάλετο παρακρεσθεὶς (Φιρμιλιανὸς) ὑπὸ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ Κύριον ἀρεσκόμενος, καὶ τὴν πίσιν ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον εἶχε μὴ φυλαξάμενος. — Μέχρι γε Ταρσῶν ἦκεν, ἅτε τῆς ἀρεησιδεῖς αὐτοῦ (Παύλου) κακίας πείραν εἰληφώς (ὁ Φιρμιλιανὸς) &c. — Ὅπως δὲ ἀποσπᾷ τῷ κανόνι ἐπὶ κισθῆλα καὶ νόθα διδασκαλίᾳ μελετήλυνεν, εὐδὲν δεῖ τῷ ἔξω ὄντι τὰν πρᾶξεις κρίνειν. Epitola a Synodo Antiochena apud Euseb. Hist. Ec. Lib. vii. c. xxx.

bon may perhaps be right in saying that, “if Paul had preserved the purity of the orthodox faith, his reign over the capital of Syria would have ended only with his life. * But Mr. Gibbon is certainly not right in ascribing the *possible* continuance of this reign to the indifference with which the church regarded the manners of its several members. The eastern Bishops were incompetent to sit in judgement on the morals of Paul of Samosata ; before their respectable convocation his tenets alone were cognizable ; to the proof of these indeed we may collect, from their general epistle, that they admitted the impurity of his unchristian life to appear in evidence ; and from the terms of manly reprehension with which they have stigmatized his voluptuous sensuality, his ambitious pursuit of temporal dignity, and that avarice which prompted him to every act of extortion and violence, we may very fairly infer, that they wanted not the will but the power to chastise those enormities which so justly kindled their zeal and indignation. His suspension from the Episcopal function was all they were authorized to adjudge, and even this they were restrained by the hand of Zenobia from carrying into immediate execution. Aurelian, however, when he had subdued that Princess, “by a determination founded on the general principles of equity and reason,” gave sanction to “a sentence pronounced in violation of the rights of the clergy and people.” † And accordingly Paul, the flatterer and favourite of Zenobia, was degraded from the see of Antioch by the same victorious arm which had pulled his queen and protectress herself from the throne, and consigned her minister, the excellent Longinus, to the stroke of an executioner.

That

* See Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. I. p. 562.

† Ibid. p. 562 and 563.

That in the course of an argument maintaining the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, we are told by Hilary, that eighty Bishops, who had constituted this or a prior council convened on the same occasion at Antioch, had rejected *the word* consubstantial, or *ὁμοούσιος*, I allow: But does not Hilary profess, that he would himself have concurred in their judgement, provided the sense in which Paul received the term were its real signification? Does he not affirm that it had a very different meaning, in which the church accepted it, and which this violent schismatick endeavoured to pervert? * Now, truly, I know of no better reason for the omission or change of a phrase, than that its sense can be easily misunderstood and wrested to ill purposes; nor, from the conduct of this synod, or of Paul himself, can I deduce any other inference, than that the language from which he hoped to derive prescription to his heresy was the ancient and established language of the Christian church; that having been heretofore understood in its obvious sense, it had remained unsuspected; but that, in consideration of this man's duplicity, it was found necessary to substitute the definition for the term; for none can deny, that if our Lord be professed “from all eternity to be in substance

* — Patres nostri, cum Paulus Samosateus hæreticus pronunciatus est, etiam *ὁμοούσιον* repudiaverunt; quia per hanc unius essentiae nuncupationem, solitarium atque unicum sibi esse Patrem & Filium prædicabat negatâ personarum proprietate. — Quis, secundum Samosateum, in Christo renatus, & Filium confessus ac Patrem, quod Christus in se sibi & Pater & Filius sit, confitebitur? Par itaque in condemnandis impietatibus hæreticorum nostra sententia est; & hanc *ὁμοούσιος* intelligentiam non modo respuit sed & odit. — Male *ὁμοούσιον* Samosateus confessus est, sed nunquid melius Ariani negaverunt? Octoginta Episcopi olim responderunt, sed trecenti decem & octo nuper (Nicæna Synodus) receperunt—illi contra hæreticum improbaverunt; nunquid & isti non adversum hæreticum probaverunt? *Hilarius de Synodis adversus Arianos Liber*, p. 243.—See above, p. 330.—Athanasiûs delivers precisely the same judgement.

stance and in person God,"* he is necessarily professed to be in its plain and unsophisticated meaning ὁμοούσιον, or consubstantial with the Father.

Thus far we have the sense of the council of Antioch, that Christ is God; that he is both God and Man the members of this synod have likewise asserted; that, "taking flesh, he was made man; and that the body which he had taken of a virgin, having received the entire fulness of the Godhead bodily, is immutably united to the Godhead and taken into God, for which reason Jesus Christ is at once both God and Man." "God he is acknowledged to be by the whole church, who emptied himself from a state of equality with God; but man of the seed of David, as concerning the flesh, Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8. Rom. i. 3;" † and in proof of this tenet, they proceed to quote Rom. ix. 5, in the identical terms in which that text has been transmitted to our times.

A a a

Eusebius,

* Σοφίαν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ δύναμιν Θεῷ πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, ἃ προσ-
νώσει, ἀλλ' ὈΥΣΊΑ ΚΑΙ ὙΠΟΣΤΆΣΕΙ ΘΕΟΝ, Θεῷ Ὑιὸν
ἐν τε παλαιᾷ καὶ νέῃ διαθήκῃ ἐγνωκότες ὁμολογεῖμεν καὶ κηρύσ-
σομεν.—Ex Epistola Episcoporum Synod. Antiochen. apud Labbæi
Concil. Vol. I. p. 481.

† Σαρκοθένηα ἐνηνθροπωνέναι, διόπερ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου
Σῶμα χωρῆσαν πᾶν τὸ πληρῶμα τῆς θεότητις Σωματικῶς τῆς
θεότητις ἀτρέπτως ἡνωται, καὶ τεθεοποιήται· ἃ χάριν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς
καὶ ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς.—Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πάση πεπί-
στευταί Θεός μὲν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσότητος Θεῷ, ἀνθρώπου
δὲ ἐκ σπερμᾶτος Δάβιδ τὸ κατὰ Σάρκα. Ibidem.

There is extant an EPISTLE TO PAUL OF SAMOSATA, which has
been ascribed to Dionysius of Alexandria; the Author is disputed by many
who acknowledge the antiquity of the work; if the latter be allowed, I
am indifferent as to the former. The following testimony to the divinity
of

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, quotes the following remarkable passage from a writer whom he does not name, but whom his excellent annotator Valesius calls GAIUS *, and whose work he tells us was entitled the Little Labyrinth. “ This Author,” he relates, “ proving the Novelty of that Heresy, which says that Christ the Saviour is a meer man, in contradiction to the leaders of the Sect of Artemon, (now revived by Paul of Samosata) who boasted of its antiquity, having adduced many arguments to discountenance their blasphemous lye, gives the following relation word for word: They affirm, says he, that all the first teachers, and even the apostles, received and taught the very same doctrine which they propagate themselves; and that the truth of preaching, or of those things which they now preached, was preserved till the days of Victor the thirteenth Bishop of Rome from Peter †: but that from the time of his successor Zephyrinus the truth was adulterated and deformed; and, perhaps, their assertion might obtain credit, were it not that in the first place the

of our Lord appears in it. The coeternal Word which was in the Father—being equal with God, assumed, for our sake, a passive nature, emptying and humbling himself, as it is written, (Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8.) to death, even the death of the cross.

Ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ΣΥΝΑΪΔΪΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ, ἐν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον, ἀοράτῳ Θεός.—Το παθὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο, κενώσας ἐαυτὸν καὶ ταπεινώσας ἕως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ τάυτου, ἴσα Θεῷ ὑπάρχων, ὥς γέγραπται. Dionysii Epist. ad Paul. Samosat. inter Labb. Concil. vol. I. p. 854.

Eusebius, however, says, that “ when THE WORD condescended to become Man, his Divinity was not impaired by it, but he was every where present, filling all things, and ruling all things, ἐδὲ ἀποπεσὼν τῆς θεότητος. Demonst. Evang. p. 169. Jortin's Rem. on Eccl. Hist.

* Eusebius himself mentions Gaius or Caius, (for so his name may be translated) as writing in the time of Zephyrinus.

† Victor filled the Episcopal Chair of Rome from A. D. 196 to 219; Zephyrinus from 219 to 224.

the Scriptures of God directly crush and overwhelm it; besides that there are extant the writings of some of the brethren antecedent to Victor's time, which they published in defence of the truth against the Gentiles, and against the Heresies which then subsisted. I speak of Justin and MILTIADES, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, by every one of whom Christ is declared to be God *. Nay, Who is he that is ignorant of the writings of Irenæus and Melito, &c. which testify that Christ is both God and Man? The Songs and Psalms of the Brethren also composed by the Faithful, in the very commencement of Christianity, hymn forth Christ the Word of God, and ascribe Divinity to him. Seeing then that the sentiments of the Church have been so many years professedly declared, How does it agree with the Truth, to assert that the Apostles and Fathers have preached according to the assertion of these sectaries? How indeed do they not blush to utter such falsehood concerning Victor, as they must in their own consciences know that Victor excommunicated Theodotus, the author and father of this God-denying apostacy, the first who said that Christ was a meer man? For if Victor concurred with them, and entertained the same tenets which their blasphemy prescribes, How then should it happen *that he cast out from the Church Theodotus the Inventor of the Heresy?*" †

A a a 2

And

* Miltiades flourished about the year 180. One undecisive fragment preserved by Eusebius, lib. v. c. 17. excepted, we are not in possession of any part of his writings; and must therefore rest the history of his tenets upon the testimony of Gaius. He wrote against the Montanists. See above, p. 186.

† Τὴν γὰρ τοι δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν Ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι τὸν ᾿Ωλήρα φάσκουσιν, ἐπροπολλὲ νεώτεροισι διευθύνων ἐπειδὴ σεμνύνειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἀν ἀρχαίαν οἱ ταύτης ἔδειλον εἰσηγηταί· πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς ἐλεῖχον αὐτῶν τῆς βλασφημίας ΠευδοΓορίας παραθεῖς ὁ λόγος, ταῦτα καὶ λέξιν ἰστορεῖ· φασὶ γὰρ τὸς Ἀποστόλους παρεληφέναι

And now let me assume this mode of argument, and, addressing myself *ad hominem*, demand of our modern God-denying Apostates how they can, without blushes, utter such falsehood as they have promulged concerning the opinion of ALEXANDER BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, which they have declared to have been indisputably Unitarian, as they have even acknowledged that Alexander was the first “who began the contest with Arius;” nay, as they must have known from the same authority, whence they have derived any knowledge whatsoever concerning Alexander, that he called a council (but not “of war,” as Dr. Jortin has affectedly called it) consisting of near an hundred Bishops, and deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized Arius, and such as adhered to his tenets. If Alexander concurred with these, and entertained the same tenets which their blasphemy

ληφέναι τε καὶ δεδιδαχέναι τὰυτα, ἃ νῦν ἔτοι λέγουσι· καὶ τῆρησθαι τὴν ἀληθείαν τῇ κηρυγματικῇ μέχρι τῶν βικτωρίων χρόνων ὃς ἦν τρισκαίδεκα αὐτὸ Πιερρὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ Ζεφυρίνου παρανεχαράχθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἣν δ' αὖν τυχόν πιθάνον τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοεπιστολὴν αὐτοῖς αἱ δεῖναι γραφαί· καὶ ἀδελφῶν δὲ τίνων ἐστὶ γράμματα πρεσβύτερα τῶν βικτωρίων χρόνων, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλήθειας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε αἱρέσεις ἔγραψαν· λέγω δὲ Ἰουστίνου καὶ Μιλιτιάδου καὶ Ταλιανῶ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ ἑτέρων πλειόνων, ἐν οἷς ἅπανσι ΘΕΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ Ὁ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. Τὰ γὰρ Ἐιρηναίου τε καὶ Μελίωντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὶς ἀποεῖ βιβλία, Θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀγαλλογία τὸν Χριστόν· Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν λόγον τῆ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστόν ὑμνεῖσι θεολογούμενοι· πῶς ἔν ἐκ τούτων ἑκτῶν καὶ ἀγαλλογούμενοι τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ φρονήματι, ἐδέχονται τὰς μέχρι βικτωρίων ἔτις ὡς ἔτοι λέγουσι κηρυχέναι. πῶς δὲ ἐκ αἰδέσθαι τὰυτα βικτωρίων καὶ ἀψεύδου, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, ὅτι βικτωρίων τὸν σκυλέα θεόδοτον τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρρησιβίας ἀποφασίας, ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοινωνίας, πρῶτον ἐπιστολὰ ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Χριστόν· εἰ γὰρ βικτωρίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφρονεῖ ὡς ἡ τέτων διδάσκει βλασφημία, πῶς ἂν ἀπέβαλλε θεόδοτον τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης ὑπερῆν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. c. xxviii. p. 252.

phemy prescribed, How then should it have happened that he cast out from the Church Arius the inventor, or rather the renovator, of the Herefy? *

But let Alexander himself come forward, and we find, that in a brief recital of the tenets of Arius and his associates, he informs the Bishop of Constantinople, that “they deny the Godhead of our Saviour, and teach that he is only equal with all other men;” “that they rescind such passages of the Scripture as reveal his Godhead and his ineffable glory with the Father from the beginning;” “and with infidelity assert, that there was time when the Son was not; and that not having been from the beginning he was made in time: Nay, that whensoever the period of his creation might have been, he was made in the nature of every man: For they aver, that God made all things out of nothing, herein comprehending the Son of God himself †.” The Writer then makes profession of his own faith, and affirms, that he had used his utmost endeavours to persuade Arius to return to the truth, to the establishment of which he had produced many scriptural proofs; and among others, had, from St. John’s Gospel i. 18, inferred, that the Father and Son were two things inseparable

* Addenda to Remarks on a Scriptural Confutation, p. 21.—Jortin’s Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. III. p. 181, Octavo, London, Whiston, 1767.

† Τὴν Θεολογίαν τῆ Σωτήριος ἡμῶν ἀρνέμενοι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἴσον εἶναι κηρύσσουσιν.—Τῆς ἀρχῆς Θεολογίας αὐτῆς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ δόξης ἀλέκεις τὰς λόγους ἀποσρεφόμενοι.—Διὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν μελλήσας, ἀγαπητοί, δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπιστίαν ἐμαυτὸν διὰ νέστησα, λεβόντων ὅτι ἦν πρὶν ὅτε ἐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱὸς τῆ Θεᾶς, καὶ γέγονεν ὕστερον ὁ πρότερον μὴ ὑπάρχων, τοιούτως, ὅτε καὶ πρὶν γέγονεν, ὅιος καὶ πᾶς εἶναι πέφυκεν ἀνθρώπου, πάντα γὰρ φασίν, ὁ Θεὸς ἐξ ἐκ ὀνίων ἐποίησε, Συναναλαμβάνοντες τῇ τῶν ἀπάντων λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων κτίσει καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τῆ Θεᾶς.

separable one from the other." * But that finding his efforts vain, and that Arius, &c. persisted in their heresy, he had at length convened a council at Alexandria, "by whose universal suffrage we have excluded these men from communion with a Church which worships the Godhead of Christ." †

And now was the doctrine of the Alexandrian Church, of the Alexandrian Council, or of Alexander himself, indisputably Unitarian? I ask a question, Does Mr. Lindsey adopt it?

If a similar test be proposed to me, and it be asked, Whether I adopt Alexander's assertion, that the Son is of a middle nature between the unbegotten Father and the things which were created by him out of nothing? ‡ I answer, that the question is unfairly stated; for that Alexander has not any where advanced this assertion, and that the translation, by which it has been attributed to him, is false and defective. But let us for argument's sake, during one moment, admit that the Son is of a middle nature between things created out of nothing and God: Now I desire to know, as this middle nature must be conceded not to have been created out of nothing, out of what self-existing substance it was created? What substance is self-existent, but the substance of God himself? If there subsist no other, that nature which was not created out of nothing was created out of
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* In Joan. i. 18. ἌΛΛ' ἮΑΩΝ. ἈΧ' ὩΡΙΣΤΑ πράγματα δύο, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς κολποῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐνομασεν (Ἰωάννης.)

† Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν παμπληθεὶ τῆς προσκυνήσεως Χριστῷ τὴν Θεότητά ἐκκλησίας ἐξηλάσαμεν. Alexandri Alexandrini Epist. ad Alexandrum Constantinopolitanum, apud Theodoretum, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. c. iv.

‡ Addenda to Remarks on Script. Conf. p. 24.

of this self-existent substance: But is the substance of God divisible, that he who is created out of it shall be another from God? If not, this middle nature is, by consubstantiality, one with that self-existence, is in short one with the Father, God.—But does not the word Creation lose propriety when it is attributed to a Being whose substance is self-existent? If so, and it cannot be denied, we must admit that the Son is altogether increate.

But confessing that the Son, though of one substance with the Father, is yet not the Father; we are therefore compelled to say, that in one Godhead (for such is that self-existent substance) there are two distinct *uncreated* persons. That the Son, however, tho' uncreated, is "of the Father," we acknowledge; for this derivation the Scripture has given us an expression which, tho' we cannot comprehend with any precision, we are under a necessity of using; and therefore we say, that he is begotten of the Father: But "in the beginning was the Word;" "by him the world was made;" "and without him was not any thing made that was made," John i. We, therefore, profess, that he was "begotten of the Father before all worlds;" and herein alone we admit, and herein alone Alexander has made use of, the terms first and second with relation to the persons of the Godhead, that *the Father is unbegotten, and that the Son is begotten of the Father*: For in no other respect can degrees subsist. From eternity and infinity, whether positively ascribed to the Deity, or figuratively combined with the several attributes of the Divine Nature, every idea of comparison is precluded. Herein alone superiority and inferiority are terms that can find no place. Notwithstanding which —

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—This middle nature, as it is called, is by the logic of the eighteenth century, placed in a most extraordinary relation ; for on the one hand, tho' existing, he is referred to nothing ; and on the other, tho' circumscribed, he is referred to infinity.

And was this really the doctrine of the primitive ages ? No, and when Alexander wrote μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα ἀγενή τε καὶ τῶν κτισθέντων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑκ ὄντων—ὧν μεσολέυσσα φύσις μονογενής, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐξ ἑκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν ὁ Πατήρ τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ, ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῷ ὄντι Πατὴρ γεγενήται*, he never meant to be understood, that the Son was of a middle nature between nothing and infinity ; but, in concurrence with the apostolic assertion to say, that by him God made the worlds, Heb. i. 2. δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς αἰώνας ἐποίησεν.

By φύσις, he does not mean *Nature* in such a sense as shall discriminate between the parental and filial substance : for he tells us himself, that they are of one substance, but that in person they are two, and this, in the very same epistle, he expresses by the very same term, εἰς τὰς τῇ ὑποστάσει δύο φύσεις μίαν εἶναι. Alexander is surely the best commentator on his own language ; but were any other requisite, Photius, in his account of the writings of PIERIUS, catechist of Alexandria, in the close of the third century, has assured us, that “ this writer had entertained just and pious sentiments concerning the Father and the Son, excepting only that he calls them two substances and two natures (ὁσίας καὶ φύσεις ;) but in this, he proceeds, it is evident FROM THE CONTEXT, that he uses the name of substance or nature in the sense of *person*, and not in that sense in which

* Alexander apud Theodoretum, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. c. iv. p. 17.

which it is accepted by the adherents to Arius:” * And had not the venerable Bishop himself, by the fortunate repetition of the controverted term fully explained the sense in which he employed it, this attestation of Photius, concerning his cotemporary and fellow-citizen, must have absolutely ascertained it.

Μονογενής is an epithet which seems to personify the term to which it is annexed.

Μεσσίεύσα is not an adjective, but an active participle intimating the voluntary agency of the only begotten in the creation of all things out of nothing; or the part of mediator, which this μεσίτης Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, 1 Tim. ii. 5. may have taken between God and his creature; in this great work (ᾧ) the Son ἐμεσίλευσεν, as in Heb. vi. 17. we are told that God ἐμεσίλευσεν ὁρκῶ and be it farther remarked, that Alexander has called *the Word* by the express name of *God*.

The whole passage then requires the following translation: “ Wide is the distance between the unbegotten Father and the things which out of nothing were created by him, between which and the Father stands forth as a mediator (whether in creation or in any other office) the person of the only begotten; by which the Father of God the Word made all things, and which was be-

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* Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱῶ, εὐσεβῶς προσέειπε πλὴν θείας δύο, καὶ φύσεις δύο λέγει: τῇ τῆς θείας καὶ φύσεως ἐνιμάλι ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τε τῶν ἐπομένων καὶ προημένων τε χωρ.ε, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ ἔχ ὡς Ἀρειῶ προσανακειμένοι, χρωμέν. Pierius apud Photium, p. 300.

Photius proceeds to say, that the doctrine of P'ierius, with respect to the Holy Ghost, was not sound for that he has said the glory of the Holy Ghost is inferiour to the glory of the Father and of the Son, ὑποδεχναίαι αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ἀποφάσκει δοξῆς. Ibid. The context is lost, and Photius is silent concerning it.

gotten by the self-existent Father himself :” And what is there here with which I cannot concur ? I answer, that I do concur, and should have been esteemed orthodox in the diocese of Alexander : for by the Son I acknowledge, that “ all things were created that are in heaven and in earth ; that all things were created by him and for him ; and that by him all things consist.” Colof. i. 16, 17. *

But it has been alledged, that every expression in the original language of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians, chap. i. ver. 16, 17, seems to be decisive of the Son’s inferiority, by exhibiting him as the Father’s minister. In maintenance of this position the following mutilated sentences are selected from those verses, Ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα—Τὰ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐκτίσται—Τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε ; and these have been rendered, *by his ministration all things were created—all things have been created by his ministration—by him, that is, by his ministration, all things consist ;*

* How unfairly, how rashly do Unitarians deal ! they endeavour to impeach the authority of the Smyrnan Epistle (p. 53 above) and the integrity of Dr. Randolph in adducing it, by an assertion, which, by the way, is not true, that it rests only upon the credit of a vision : yet now having found (but where I neither know nor care) a legend which they erroneously imagine abets their own doctrine, we are gravely referred to it as a testimony borne by God himself to the truth of their tenets. Tho’ it evidently appears now that Alexander entertained opinions diametrically opposite to Unitarianism, I do not desire to retain, nay, on the contrary, I most willingly resign the concurrence of a monkish vision ; the justice of Alexander’s sentiments remains unaffected by the concession. I resign the visionary basis upon which it is falsely pretended the Smyrnan Epistle stands ; the authenticity of the Smyrnan Epistle remains unaffected by the concession.—Let Pionius and Pachomius go sleep and dream together, we have not the smallest occasion for assistance from either of them.—Suppose that I should now assume the miraculous recall of Natalis (p. 363) from Unitarianism to the acknowledgement of our Lord’s Divinity, as an argument in behalf of my own cause, would it be allowed to me ? And yet let me say, that it rests upon no contemptible authority. I, notwithstanding, wave the miracle, and have only related it because the narrative was written within the time investigated.

consist; and for this the reason assigned is, that *ἐν* and *διὰ* mean, ordinarily at least, the agency of a minister, a person employed under the control of a first mover. *

Now as I have contended for it, that our Saviour was the subject of St. Paul's doctrine at Athens, Unitarians must withdraw their opposition to this tenet, or else maintaining that the Father alone is spoken of, admit that *ἘΝ αὐτῷ ζώμεν, καὶ κινέμεθα, καὶ ἴσμεν*, Acts xvii. 28. And I apprehend they will hardly contradict an assertion concerning the Father, *Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα*, Rom. xi. 36. or affirm that our Lord *δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ*, 1 Cor. viii. 6. is the subject of the Apostle's position, *Πιστεὺς ὁ Θεὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκλήθη*, &c. 1 Cor. i. 9. Under the control of what first mover now is the Almighty Father employed?

But *τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκτίσται*.—I ask the Writer, with whom I contend, is that the whole of the sentence, and whether he did not himself know that the words *δι' αὐτοῦ* are immediately followed by *καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν*? If he answer that he knew it not, let him find protection behind his ignorance from any heavier charge than that of incompetency; but if he were, on the contrary, aware of the Apostle's whole assertion, he must in that case have known, that some expressions in the original were not decisive of the Son's inferiority: for “the glory of Jesus,” says St. Barnabas, “is hereby established, in as much as that all things were created by him and for him,” *ἔχεις καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν δόξαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἘΝ αὐτῷ πάντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν*. Barnabæ Epist. Cathol. †

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* Remarks on Scriptural Confutation, p. 96.

† The Antiochene Council, mentioned above, say upon this passage of the Apostle, “*Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν*”—*Ὁὕτω δὲ, ὡς ἀληθῶς* *ὅτι*.

Mr. Lindsey's accusation of Unitarianism against all christian people extending no farther than "till the council of Nice," here also my enquiry into the tenets of the primitive Church shall find a termination. By that famous council, which was convened at Nice, a city of Bythynia, A. D. 325, and which, I trust, I have now redeemed from the insinuated charge of innovation, the opinions of Arius were absolutely condemned, and the very doctrines, which are at this day received by the Church of England, were ratified and promulged to the christian world. How far those doctrines which were then promulged, and which are now embraced by the Church of England, accord with the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the faith of Ante-Nicene antiquity, it has been my Office to enquire and to communicate; and thus have I made it appear, not by a single exception only, that Mr. Lindsey's *general* position is false, but by the testimony of every Christian writer of the first three centuries, that, without a single exception, the contradictory of his position is true. I have made it appear beyond a contradiction, that the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble army of Martyrs, and the holy Church throughout all the world, have praised and acknowledged the Father of an infinite Majesty, his honourable,

ὁν καὶ ἐνεγέννητο, ὡς Λόγος ἅμα καὶ Θεῶ, δι' ὃ ὁ Πατήρ πάντα πεποιήκειν, ἐχ' ὡς ὄργανον, ἐδ' ὡς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἀνωφεύατο. — Labb. vol. i. p. 841.

And Eusebius observes, that "all things owe their existence and their perfections to THE WORD, and TO THE HOLY SPIRIT; that THE WORD called the Angels into being; and that THE HOLY GHOST at the same time illuminated and sanctified them." Ἀγγέλων γὰρ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράδοτον ὁ δημιουργὸς Λόγος ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ἔλων παρέχειται τὸν ἁγιασμὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον συνεπέφερεν. Comment. in Psalm. p. 125. — See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. II. p. 258.

nourable, true, and only Son, also the Holy Ghost the Comforter. But to all these quotations, by which Antiquity has made profession of its own faith in the divinity of the three persons in the unity of the godhead, there is one ready answer which I expect to receive. It is, that in the very same writings whence I have made these extracts, there may occur many passages in which the authors have not professed so much. But suppose that I should even grant this true, to what does it amount? To no more than that, the entire faith of a Christian being compounded of many articles, the separate profession of each article is not the aggregate profession of the whole. But is a partial acknowledgement a total abjuration? nay, does absolute silence on a subject constitute a denial of its truth? With its parts the whole can never be inconsistent; and yet a declaration, that any one of these parts is the whole, is absolutely void of truth; for such a position denies the existence of the remaining parts; and this denial is false. Thus the divinity of Christ is by no means inconsistent with his manhood, his priesthood, his appointed jurisdiction, or any other character in which he is held forth to us; whereas a declaration, that any one or more of these inferior characters constitute the whole of Christ's nature, is a denial of his divinity. No single instance of such an exclusive declaration occurs in the scriptures, nor the writings of the early fathers, to contradict the frequent assurances they afford us of his godhead. The limitation, therefore, contended for by the Unitarian must be pronounced of a more modern date: And if Christ be truly God, it amounts to a denial of Christ; a denial, against which the full severity of almighty justice is proclaimed.

But the conduct of Mr. Lindsey himself precludes the possibility of a concession, that such passages as do
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not speak the whole afford the smallest argument against the force of such as do. He has relinquished our church because she has spoken the whole, which he could not have done if partial assertions afforded a total repeal; for a repeal of this nature he must have found in our obnoxious liturgy, and might thence have argued, that the church of England is a Unitarian church. The general confession is addressed only to the Father; the remission which follows it is addressed to the Father only, through Jesus Christ our Lord; the prayer for the clergy and people acknowledges his inferiority, and denominates this Son of Man our Mediator and Advocate.—I need not here state the frequent acknowledgements of the one identical godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which appear throughout our liturgy. Mr. Lindsey's apostacy has sufficiently testified that they remain in ample force and vigour, notwithstanding those partial assertions in which the doctrine is not thus fully declared.

But, a marked inconsistency subsisting between the passages here drawn from the primitive writers, and the dogmas of this gentleman, he has not, therefore, written any thing in the least degree bearing a resemblance to these passages; whereas, no such inconsistency subsisting between these extracts, and the remaining works of the early fathers, men as well informed in the doctrines of Christianity, and equally capable of discerning the agreement or disagreement of two propositions, have not scrupled to insert these passages in the body of their several writings. But let me close with Mr. Lindsey himself on this ground.—Of you therefore, Sir, I now enquire whether *you* accede to the positions stated above from the fathers; whether, consistently with your own tenets, you think that you could have written them yourself; or whether you abide by that desperate

desperate assertion which in effect subscribes to whatever doctrines may have flowed from their pens? If not, it pains me to hurt you with an assurance that, you are not a Christian such as the fathers were; that the fathers were not Unitarians, such as you are; and consequently, that your position concerning them, whether you be erroneously or intentionally guilty, is, at the very best, a gross misrepresentation. You have conferred upon the fathers of the church a degree of importance beyond their pretensions, and even proclaimed it ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY that the less learned should be told they were Unitarians. The consequence you look for, therefore, is certainly their acquiescence in those tenets which, they are *thus* instructed by you, were held by the primitive Christians. But, upon this assertion, *the less learned* were your intended profelytes. You call upon the blind to follow the step that misleads them: The blind alone cannot detect you. They alone who are precluded by ignorance from enquiry, are assured that, *upon enquiry*, they will find your allegation to be *undeniably true*.— I have now proceeded to make that enquiry, and, instead of demanding the assent of any man, even the most ignorant, to a general assertion concerning what I have read, or saying that your testimony concerning the fathers is *undeniably false*, I have called upon those fathers to answer for themselves; and, without the intentional exception of a single writer, whose works are received as genuine, and who has delivered his sentiments on this subject, have produced each individual to be the professor of his own faith, *—By translations which I conceive

* I know of no other writers, or fragments of writers, than those I have already stated to the reader, and shall be obliged by any information. That MALCHION, and some others, wrote against Artemon, Theodotus, and Paul of Samosata, is some proof that they opposed Unitarianism; but of their writings nothing remains to put this out of doubt. —

conceive to be strictly literal, or paraphrases which I conceive to be strictly just to the sense of the author, I have rendered them intelligible to the less learned; and for the more easy correction of any errors into which I may unconsciously have fallen, have annexed the original language, or if this has perished, the ancient version of the several writers.—I do not desire the one Godhead of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost to be inferred from the assertions of the fathers; for, though I esteem their verdict a proof of the sense in which they accepted the evidence of the gospel, and therefore

It had been superfluous to have adduced evidence that ATHANASIUS abets a cause, which Unitarians have from his name denominated *Athanasian*.—I do not pretend that this Bishop of Alexandria was the composer of the creed, which is usually ascribed to him; but thus much I can from my own knowledge aver, that every article of that creed is repeatedly to be found in his writings. I have myself extracted them,—this I mention, in order to protect his name from the treatment bestowed upon that of his immediate predecessor Alexander; for as Alexander's vehement opposition to Arius could not prevent the charge of adherence to Arius, I could not tell but the council of Nice, and that principal member of this great convocation, Athanasius, who condemned Arius, might be charged with an entire concurrence in sentiment with the object of their condemnation; and that we should next be modestly assured “the Nicene Fathers themselves were Unitarians.” Addend. to Rem. p. 22.—Could a Papist derive strength to his cause from the temporary concurrence of Chillingworth? If not, I refuse to allow it to the Arian. In what did Chillingworth settle in the end? —

The authority of Apollo, though probably of the same stamp with that of the Sybil, (p. 357) is, however, valuable, as it has given occasion to Lactantius to make a verbal criticism, which is applicable to Rom. ix. 5. and which therefore refer to p. 26, 109, above.

The words of the oracle are *Θνῆσκς ἐν κατὰ σάρκα*, on which the Father observes, that when it is said *he is mortal as concerning the flesh*, which we also affirm, it follows, and this too we profess, that *he was God as concerning the Spirit*; why else should it be said “as concerning the flesh,” “when that he is mortal” would have been sufficient? *Cum fatetur secundum carnem fuisse mortalem, quod etiam nos prædicamus, consequens est ut secundum Spiritum Deus fuerit, quod nos affirmamus. Quid enim fuerit necesse carnis facere mentionem cum satis esset dicere fuisse mortalem.* Lactant: Lib. iv. c. 14. De *ἀὐτῶν* sapientia.

therefore unquestionably of much consequence, all I require is, that men shall, first, not think it *absolutely necessary* to know what tenets they held, as the very same evidence remains open to their own enquiry; and secondly, that, if any man be so weak as to think their tenets an *infallible* rule for his, he may learn that there did not, among the fathers of the first three centuries, subsist a single Unitarian: and this, not from my unsupported assertion, but from the copious and conclusive professions of the Ante-Nicene fathers themselves,

C c c

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Collateral Evidence of the Sentiments of the Christians of the first three Centuries.

FROM the reproaches or derision of the Jew, the Heretick, and the Gentile, it is easy to ascertain the common point which has proved to the one a stumbling block, and to the other foolishness.—In the fields of controversy, it is lawful to array against an adversary the arguments which he has himself involuntarily contributed, or the concessions which preclude his reply: I shall therefore now proceed to turn upon the enemies of truth, the arms which have been supplied to us by their antient allies; and accordingly, without farther preface, shall lay before my reader the testimony which has been contributed to the antiquity of our faith by the few early writers, &c. who, without embracing, have in any conclusive manner adverted to the religion of the gospel. “Et firmum est genus probationis,” says Tertullian, “quod etiam ab adversariis sumitur, etiam ut veritas ab ipsis inimicis veritatis probetur.”

The relation made to Tiberius by PONTIUS PILATE, as recorded by Eusebius, concludes with an assurance that “Christ was already believed by many to be God.” *

Eusebius

* Ἡδὴ Θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱππευμένετο. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 47.

Eusebius has called upon Tertullian to vouch the narrative whence I have extracted this passage; to Tertullian alone I shall therefore confine myself in the following considerations: for, upon the state of facts presented to us by that Father, and which I set before my reader in the note*, Le Fevre has most conclusively said *Hem!* and Mr. Gibbon has been pleased to favour us with a copious paraphrase of the significant interjection.

C c c 2

“We

* Ut de origine aliquid retractamus ejusmodi legem. Vetus erat decretum ne qui Deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probaretur: Ut M. Æmilius de Deo suo Alburno. Facit & hoc ad eam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas penitatur. Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit. Nemo jam Deo propitius esse debet. Tiberius ergo, cujus tem. ore nomen Christianum in seculum introiit, annuntiatum sibi ex Syria Palæstinâ quæ illi veritatem ipsius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Cæsar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. — CONSULTATE COMMENTARIOS VESTROS; illi reperietis primùm Neronem in hanc sedem, tum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæsaribus Gladio feruisse, &c. &c. Tertull. Apologet. cap. v.

Ad doctrinam vero ejus quia revincebantur magistri, primoresque Judæorum, ita exasperabantur, maxime quod ad eum ingens multitudo confluxeretur, ut postremo Gaius Pontius Pilatus Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, violentia suffragiorum in crucem Jesum dedi sibi extorcerint. Prædixerat & ipse ita facturos. Parum hoc, si non et Prophete retro etiam.

Tamen suffixus multa mortis illius propria stendit insignia, nam spiritum cum verbo sponte dimisit, prævento carnificis officio. Eodem momento dies, medium orbem signante sole, subducta est. Desiquem utique putaverunt qui id quoque super Christo prædicatum non scierant; et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in ARCHIVIS VESTRIS HABETIS. Tunc Judæi detractum & sepulchro conditum magna etiam militari manu custodire diligentia circumfederunt, ne, quia prædixerat terti. die resurrecturum, si a morte, discipuli furto amoliti candæ et fallent suspectos. Sed ecce tertiâ, concussa repente terrâ, & mole revolutâ quæ obstruxerat sepulchrum, & custodiâ pavore disjectâ, nullis apparentibus discipulis, nihil in sepulchro repertum est, præterquam exuvie sepulci. Nulli homines tamen primores, quorum intererat & melius divulgare, & repulsi reddidit & famularem ad fidem vocare, serreptum a discipulis jacitaverunt. Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit ne impii errore liberarentur, ut et fides non mediocri

“ We are required by Tertullian,” says this Gentleman, “ to believe,

I. That Pontius Pilate informed the Emperor of the unjust sentence of death which he had pronounced against an innocent, and, as it appeared, a divine person, and that, without acquiring the merit, he exposed himself to the danger of martyrdom ;

II. That

mediocri Præmio destinata difficultate constaret. Cum discipulis autem quibusdam apud Galilæam Judææ regionem ad quadraginta dies egit, docens eos quæ docerent. Dehinc, ordinatis eis ad officium prædicandi per orbem, circumfusâ nube in cælum est receptus, multo verius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulo Proculi solent.

Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, & ipse pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo si aut Cæsares non essent seculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares. Tertull. Apologet. cap. xxi.

IN ENGLISH thus :

That we may treat somewhat of the original of such laws. There was an antient decree that no god should be consecrated by an Emperor, unless he were approved of by the senate ; as in the case of M. Æmilius concerning his god Alburnus. And it makes for our cause, that among you Godhead is dispensed according to human arbitrement. Unless God please man, he shall not be God. It is Man then that should be propitious to God. Tiberius, therefore, in whose time the name of Christ entered into the world, together with the prerogative of his own vote, referred to the senate the account that was given to him from Palestine in Syria, which therein revealed the truth of his Divinity. The senate, because the senate disapproved, rejected (Christ.) Cæsar continued in the same sentiment, threatening danger to the accusers of the Christians — Consult your *commentaries*, you will *therein* find that Nero was the first ferociously to wield the Cæsarian sword against this sect, &c. &c. &c.

The rulers and elders of the Jews were so highly exasperated because of the multitude which inclined to him, that in the end, with tumultuous voices, they extorted from Pontius Pilate, the Roman Deputy of Syria, his consent that Jesus, who stood arraigned before him, should be delivered up to them for crucifixion : These things he predicted himself ; yet that were but of small account, if the Prophets, who had preceded his coming, had not foretold them also. But even when he was nailed to the cross, he shewed many signs peculiar to his death : for, anticipating the executioner,

II. That Tiberius, who avowed his contempt for all religion, immediately conceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the Gods of Rome ;

III. That his servile senate ventured to disobey the commands of their master ;

IV. That Tiberius, instead of resenting their refusal, contented himself with protecting the Christians from the severity of the laws many years before such laws were enacted, or before the Church had assumed any distinct name or existence ;

V. And

executioner, he, with the Word, spontaneously gave up the ghost. In the same moment, even when the sun occupied his noon-tide station, the day was withdrawn ; they who were ignorant of the Prophecies which referred this darkness also to Christ, conceived it an eclipse ; and yet, in your own ARCHIVES, you possess a relation of this defection of nature. The Jews then surrounded his body, when taken down and laid in the sepulchre, with a military guard, lest, because he had foretold his resurrection on the third day after his death, his disciples might steal him away, and deceive the people. But, behold ! on the third day the earth being suddenly shaken, the stone rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre, the guard appalled with terror, and no disciple at hand, nothing was found in the tomb except the appurtenances of an interred body : Nevertheless the elders, who were interested to publish a falsehood, and to recall the people to their allegiance, gave out that he was stolen away by his disciples : For he did not exhibit himself in public, lest the impious should be delivered from their error ; and also that Faith, by having a difficulty to surmount, might become proportioned to no mean reward. With some disciples, however, he passed forty days at Galilee, a region of Judea, teaching them the things which they should teach ; and thence, when they were ordained to the office of preaching through the world, he was taken up in a cloud to heaven : Much more truly than your Proculuses are used to assert concerning Romulus. All things concerning Christ did Pilate, who was himself in conscience convinced of Christianity, relate to Tiberius, who was at that time Emperor ; and the Cæsars would have believed on Christ, either if Cæsars were not necessary to the Age ; or if Cæsars could have been Christians ; (or perhaps this last sentence should be translated, “ if Christians could have been Cæsars ;” the impossibility of which might have been the sentiment of the rigid Tertullian, who lived long before Christianity comprehended the imperial purple.)

V. And lastly, That the memory of this extraordinary transaction was preserved in the most publick and authentick records, which escaped the knowledge of the Historians of Greece and Rome, and were only visible to the eyes of an African Christian, who composed his Apology one hundred and sixty years after the death of Tiberius." See Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I. p. 556.

I. In answer to the first of these objections, thus formidably arrayed against the veracity of Tertullian, let it be remembered that Pontius Pilate, when he permitted the sentence of crucifixion, pronounced, not by himself but by the Jews, to be carried into execution against our Saviour, washed his own hands of the blood of that just Person, and appealed to the multitude to testify his innocence. When thus desirous of extenuating the crime of an enforced acquiescence, and of standing justified before those who were subject to his authority, why are we, in contradiction to every species of probability, to suppose that he brought an overcharged accusation against himself, and exaggerated his guilt before one whose authority was paramount to his own? That, having suffered the Jews to take upon themselves and their children the blood of our Saviour; and in the instant providently laid the foundation of his defence against a time when the extraordinary events then transacted should come under the imperial cognizance, he now in the day of danger waived the advantage of a nation's testimony to his reluctant concurrence, and loading his narrative with opprobrious epithets, substituted himself as the single criminal, resumed the guilt from those who had even solicited the exclusive imputation, and selected the Emperor Tiberius as the person with whom to deposit the act of resumption? — The supposition I readily grant is an absurdity, but it is
not

not Tertullian's. And from the emphatical language in which that Father represents the necessity under which the governour of Palestine lay to deliver up our Lord to the clamour of the Jewish Elders, although he has not specified a single syllable of Pilate's Epistle to the Emperor, it may be more reasonably collected, that (if any thing) we are required to believe that Pilate informed the Emperor of the irresistible importunity of the Jewish Elders, and that, by inhancing the merit of his own reluctance, he took effectual care to secure himself from the danger of imperial resentment.

II. With respect to the second objection brought by our Historian, I will admit the Emperor's avowed contempt for religion, that the Jewish nation was under the heavy displeasure of Tiberius, and that Jesus Christ was the Messiah of this obnoxious nation: But is there no deference due to the testimony of an antient and uncontradicted transmits; shall an hypothetic inference from a general character stand and obtain credit in opposition to direct, particular, and unimpeached evidence; and did the impiety of Tiberius admit of no interruption? Two instances are surely recorded in which he appears to have been influenced by a transient veneration for the Gods of his country; for Suetonius affirms that he dedicated a Temple to Concord, and another to Castor and Pollux. *

But

* Sueton. Tiber. cap. xx.—Let us say that the whole story of a voice calling upon Thamnus, the commander of a Roman vessel, and giving him commission to proclaim the death of Pan, when he should reach Palodes, is a fiction of Æmilianus, who related it as a fact, to which he had been himself a witness; we have yet the authority of Plutarch for a narrative within the ordinary limits of nature, which is, that on the affair becoming a general topic at Rome, Tiberius called Thamnus before him, examined into the matter, and believed the mariner's testimony, insomuch as afterwards to become exceedingly inquisitive into the history and genealogy of Pan.

But did Pontius Pilate denominate our Lord, *the Jewish Messiah*, that Tiberius, who hated the Jews, might have a still farther objection to surmount? Tho' I give no credit to the Epistle which has been by later writers ascribed to Pontius Pilate, I must yet conclude, that when that Governor transmitted an account of our Saviour's resurrection to Rome, he accompanied it with a recital of the circumstances of his crucifixion; and therefore that the Emperor's aversion to the Jews could have had no operation against the apotheosis of a person rejected by that people, against whom they had actually proceeded to extremities, and of whom it is highly improbable he had ever heard under the title of *their Messiah*; a title which to him, without a comment, must have been absolutely unintelligible; and I am not aware that any commentary on the Law and the Prophets has ever been ascribed to Pontius Pilate.

III. That the senate of Rome has exhibited a terrible example how easily a lapse may be made from a state of consummate freedom to a state of the most abject servility, and that Tiberius had become the absolute master of this degenerate legislature, are points that must be conceded. It is, notwithstanding, true that at a period when this tyrant had, by his astonishing ferocity, rendered himself even the most formidable, the senate, in a particular instance, refused to comply with his desire: He therefore pronounced himself contemned, and even sought refuge from their imaginary indignation, by a precipitate flight to his natural fortress at Caprea. *

IV. But

* Sueton. Tiber. cap. lxxiii. Dio Cassius has also related a circumstance somewhat similar. When the Emperor had forbid any kind of respect to be paid to the memory of Livia, the senate, notwithstanding, voted to have an arch erected to her honour: That he stopped the execution of this structure is true, but it was under false pretences of economy; for he did not dare to infringe the decree openly—but the whole of his conduct, on the present occasion, might, perhaps, be accounted for by the caprice of the man.

IV. But the Emperor did not always thus resent their disobedience to his commands; for on the contrary, which may apply to the fourth objection, "He did not so much as utter a complaint at some decrees which were passed in opposition to his will." He acquiesced when, on a division in the senate-house, the majority stood against him, when even his own presence and conspicuous vote were unable to procure the concurrence of a single senator. * Why then should he not now have acquiesced in their refusal to place *the Jewish Messiah* among the Gods of Rome? Was an avowed zeal for religion too among the qualifications of Tiberius, that his indignation must have been particularly excited here?—It was the uninterrupted practice of this Emperor to lay all matters, however great or unimportant, before the senate †; and in the senate alone, by an ancient law alluded to here by Tertullian ‡, the power of enrolling Gods was vested; Tiberius being therefore now apprized of the extraordinary event which had just taken place in Syria, it was but consonant with his usual custom that he should refer the account at large to the senate; and, though perfectly indifferent with regard to the event, submit it to the decision of their peculiar authority, whether the person whom it concerned should be placed among the Gods of Rome. To his having forwarded the proposal with his own vote, and then acquiesced in the opposition of the senate, the case which I have already stated from Suetonius is exactly in point. But does Tertullian affirm that the Emperor had *commanded* the Deification of Jesus Christ? No,

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not

* Sueton. Tib. cap. xxxi.

† Ejustd. lib. cap. xxx. Dio Cass. LVII. p. 606,

‡ One of the laws of the Twelve Tables runs thus: "Separatim nemo habessit Deos, neve novos, sed ne advenas, nisi publice ascitos pravitim colunt."

not once; but it was necessary to exaggerate his attestation, that the prodigy of senatorial disobedience might obstruct our faith in what this misrepresented Father has in reality attested.

The remainder of this objection is founded on a farther fiction of the Historian's own; for Tertullian has neither named *a law enacted against the Christians*, nor has he called the primitive Disciples of Jesus Christ by the appellation of *a Church*. That "Tiberius threatened danger to the accusers of the Christians", is the whole of that writer's assertion, and the intention of this widely paraphrased position appears sufficiently obvious: That the immediate hearers of our Lord, whom he sent out to disseminate the Gospel, were *Christians*, whether as yet so denominated or not, is a fact, the denial of which can only amount to a disingenuous cavil; that the first Christians were accused of blasphemy against the law, and therefore were persecuted by the Jews, who had crucified their Master himself, is a point also indisputable; and we have the best historick authority to believe that Tiberius, towards the close of his reign, treated the Jews with the utmost rigour. This oppressive conduct of the Emperor towards the accusers of the Christians has been variously accounted for, according to the respective persuasions of the various authors who have recorded it; that their superstitious adherence to their own ritual had excited his indignation, is the reason assigned for it by the Heathen Suetonius*. Josephus, who was himself a Jew, attributes it to a breach of trust perpetrated by a few individuals of his own nation†: And why may not the Christian Tertullian ascribe it to a desire of protecting a specified society, whose only crime was stated to have been a blasphemy against that very law which is, on all hands, agreed to have been obnoxious

* Suet. Tib. cap. xxxvi.

† Josephi Antiquit. Jud. 18—5.

obnoxious to Tiberius? From the language of this Father, it is an inference far more reasonable than many drawn by our Historian, and yet an inference on which I by no means rely, that a rescript, denouncing vengeance against the murderers of Jesus Christ, unless they desisted from the persecution of his followers, was returned by Tiberius in consequence of the information which he had received from Pontius Pilate. The Jewish persecution alone was under the consideration of Tertullian; for he tells us himself, that “Nero was the first to wield the *Cæsar*ian sword against the Christians.” All consideration of Roman laws enacted against the *Church*, is consequently foreign to the subject before us, and, I should conclude, had been originally introduced only to incumber our faith with articles not proposed by antiquity: Let it therefore be remembered, that the obstacle is created by the Historian himself; and if the reader find it still to impede his progress, let him learn, that though no law of the empire had, in this early period, specified the Christian by name, there yet subsisted, from antient times, a voluminous code of statutes, under any one of which, as coming within the description, Christianity must have been adjudged an offence, the professors of Christianity must have been convicted and treated as criminals. In religion novelty alone incurred the censure of the Roman law, and novelty is an offence of a nature not usually created, and the heinousness of which is not for the most part highly aggravated by the progress of time.

V. As the passage from Tertullian is before my reader, it is obvious that the Historian’s final objection is also levelled against a misrepresentation of his own; for, if any credit be due to the authority of Mr. Gibbon himself, the Writer, over whom he brandishes his indignant pen, has NOT affirmed, “that the memory of this ex-

traordinary transaction was preserved in the most public and authentic records ;” nor does he arrogate to himself any exclusive knowledge of the contents of the imperial archives.

If, however, the words *consulite commentarios vestros*, which are incontrovertibly appropriated by the adverb *illic* to the subsequent narrative, must yet be torn away from their proper context, referred to the passage under consideration, and then translated *consult your most public and authentic records* ; even so there appears no violent transgression of the limits of probability. Within a Roman province, consigned to the government of Pontius Pilate, an affair of unquestionably some importance, calling it no more than a tumultuary execution, had taken place ; to transmit an account of this to Rome, appears, therefore, no more than a duty of office, and the official instrument in which it was communicated, we may reasonably conclude to have been of a nature fit to be deposited and preserved among the records of the empire. That these were only visible to the eyes of an African Christian, is an inference, I suppose, from the silence of other writers ; but does it follow, or do we look for the testimonies of Jesus Christ among the infidel historians of Greece and Rome ? Nay ! is Mr. Gibbon himself the man to drag them from their concealment ? The credulity of scepticism is surely satisfied with premises on which faith, the perpetual object of our author’s historic irony, would find and acknowledge herself unable to found any conclusion. That Tacitus, however, who wrote for the instruction of the Gentile reader, has dated the period of our Saviour’s crucifixion by the government of Pontius Pilate, affords some ground for a presumption that this great Historian had access to, and obtained the information he has imparted, among the archives of the empire.

empire. But Suetonius has more directly affirmed that the individual Emperor, whose conduct is now controverted, recorded every event of his life; he has even assured us that his *Commentarii* were extant for some length of time after his death; for “these, he says, and these alone, constituted the study of Domitian,”* who set the conduct of Tiberius before his eyes as a rule for his own government, and would, perhaps, have followed him even in this solitary act of mercy, had not the reign of Nero intervened, which furnishing a precedent for the destruction of the Christians also, excited a still higher spirit of emulation, and taught him to obliterate the single page in which the example of Tiberius had pointed out an object of forbearance. It is, therefore, evident that the *Commentarii* of that Emperor had NOT escaped the knowledge of the Historians of Rome, and that they were not visible ONLY to the eyes of an African Christian, who composed his Apology one hundred and sixty years after the death of Tiberius.

But this, I may be told, is only combating an interpretation of my own; for it is not among these *Commentarii* that Mr. Gibbon charges Tertullian with having affirmed “that the memory of this extraordinary transaction was preserved.” *Relatum in ARCHIVIS vestris habetis* is certainly the assertion against which the Historian has taken exception, and against which the force of his final objection is directly levelled; for nothing can be more withdrawn from controversy, than that this passage has in clear and explicit terms referred the Gentiles to their “most public and authentic records.”—And is the meaning of this passage really thus determined, and does Mr. Gibbon himself thus acknowledge its clear exemption from every species of ambiguity?

* Sueton. cap. xx.

guity? This is indeed my own opinion, and therefore I readily accept of the concession. But let us hear the Historian himself: "When Tertullian assures the Pagans that the mention of this prodigy (the darkness which accompanied our Saviour's passion) is found in *ARCANIS* (not *ARCHIVIS*) *vestris*, he probably appeals to the Sibylline verses, which relate it exactly in the words of the Gospel." *Note 194 on chap. xv. of Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

The candid critic, where various readings equally authorized are offered to his choice, will select and uniformly abide by that which appears the best adapted to the general sense of the writer under his consideration. To Mr. Gibbon alone it belongs, without decision, to retain every variety, and, viewing the passage in its several distinct relations, occasionally to receive into the text that reading which he esteems the least correspondent with the purpose, or the most likely to subvert the reputation of an antient author, with whose credit or consistency he perceives the establishment of his own novel hypothesis to be altogether incompatible. That the imperial archives should contain a record of an extraordinary transaction in a province of the empire, does not appear to me in the least degree an improbability: to Mr. Gibbon, however, it seems "a difficulty sufficient to perplex the sceptical mind." For this reason, therefore, though on another occasion, where he deemed another reading more contributory to his argument, he has substituted *arcanis*, and annexed a far fetched interpretation, in the present instance he adopts into the text that reading which, in his opinion, imputes a falsehood to Tertullian, and not only acquiesces in the term usually accepted, but contends for it, that the genuine language of the Father is *ARCHIVIS*.

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That one or the other of these two passages is the ground-work of Mr. Gibbon's objection, I do not entertain a single doubt, because, that in the compass of Tertullian's writings, I cannot find another that in any respect whatsoever relates to the information given by Pilate to the Emperor. If, however, I be in an error, it is the Historian himself who is to blame for having reprehensibly omitted such a reference to his authority as might serve to facilitate enquiry, and assist in the removal of such perplexities as may involve the sceptical mind with regard to representations that rest only upon the veracity of our author himself: with him, therefore, in that case it remains to shew that he is not guilty of an absolute fiction; whereas, if our enquiry must, as I apprehend, terminate here, the reader is now competent to form a judgement between the integrity of Tertullian and that of a writer, who has descended to the little artifices already stated for the purpose of defeating the evidence of antiquity, and building his Pagan hypothesis upon the substituted foundations of his own conjecture.

However serviceable the pursuit might prove, it is not my business to follow Mr. Gibbon any farther. To the establishment of a passage quoted above from Eusebius, I have thought it necessary to vindicate the authority of Tertullian, because to this Eusebius has, in some measure, appealed for the truth of his own narrative. Mr. Gibbon had endeavoured to encumber the simple tale with a thousand circumstances that did not belong to it, and, by inferences which did not follow, to persuade his reader that the antient Father had stated facts, refutable by their leading directly to absurdity. The consideration of these I esteemed to be within my province; and now trust I have made it clear, that the additional circumstances are a fiction, and the inconsequent inferences absurdities no longer

to be imputed to Tertullian, but which may very well serve to instruct the reader what degree of confidence he may venture to repose upon the testimony of the Historian himself.

“SEVERUS ALEXANDER designed to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him among the Gods: which is reported also to have been the intention of HADRIAN, who commanded temples without idols to be erected in every city: But *he** was restrained from his purpose by those who, on consulting the Gods, reported that, if he proceeded, all men would become Christians, and that every other temple would be deserted.”† Such is the narrative of *ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS*, who was himself a Pagan; and hence results an Heathen testimony, that the Christian Churches were edifices raised for the worship of Christ. Could the Aruspices else have concluded, that all Christians would resort to a temple in which Christ was received as a God; or could Hadrian have

* I think, with Dr. Jortin, that Alexander is the name referred to here.

† *Christo templum facere voluit, (Severus Alexander) eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulachris jusserat fieri: (quæ hodie idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur:) sed prohibitus est ab his, qui consulentes sacra, repperant omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, & templa reliqua deferenda. Ælii Lampridii Alexander Severus, p. 272. Edit. Paris. Roberti Steph. 1544, 8vo.*

Of these two facts the first is positively asserted, and must stand upon the authority of the Historian: the second is only said to have been an inference from circumstances that are stated, and therefore may admit of doubt. There is nothing in the character of either Alexander or Hadrian to contradict or even to render the narrative improbable. The Syrian Alexander was an object of contempt to Julian, who always depreciated the friends of Christianity; and the speculative Hadrian had, on the utter subversion of the Jews, yet restored the Christians of Jerusalem from a tedious exile which they had sustained at Pella.—But let me not anticipate the Sceptic,

have so greatly mistaken the unsculptured object of the Christian's adoration?

Certain as our Saviour's exclusion from exclusive Godhead must always have been, when brought before the jurisdiction of a Pagan Pontiff, yet we may see that his character was a subject more than once referred to the discussion of the deities of the empire: for, upon the answer returned to some persons who had consulted an oracle concerning the nature of our Lord, PORPHYRY, a very eminent Platonic Philosopher of the third century, has put the following interpretation: "The oracle," says he, "has pronounced him (a Man) of consummate piety, and declared that his soul, which the Christians weakly worship, has passed through death to immortality." *

And a very prudent and well-weighed piece of celestial management we must allow this answer to have been, when we consider that the Gods had nothing less than their own dignity at stake, with which, by the assistance of a few philosophic eyes, they plainly saw that the admission of our Saviour into Heaven was altogether incompatible; indeed, according to Porphyry,

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* Ευσέβειον ἀρὰ ἔφη αὐτὸν: καὶ τὴν Ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, μετὰ θάνατον ἀπαθανάτισθῆναι, ἢν ΣΕΒΕΙΝ ἀποτίμας τὰς Χριστιανὰς. Porphyrii apud Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangelic. lib. iiii. cap. vi. p. 134. Edit. Paris. apud Sonnum, 1628, fo 10.

Though a negative to the divinity of our Saviour was the natural answer for an oracle to give, it was not probably the answer always expected by those who went to enquire. "Their strict and decent adherence to the religion by law established, gave to Dionytus of Halicarnassus, the highest opinion of the Roman people; but nothing more excited his wonder than the cautious attention with which they received any proposal of change or innovation; for here the measure was referred to the Gods whom they had heretofore acknowledged, and ratified only upon the divine approbation."

they might have acquired this wisdom by their earthly experience: “For is it now a wonder,” exclaims the Sage, “that disease has so many years possessed a city which is no longer the residence of Æsculapius and the other deities? For, since Jesus began to be honoured, no man has been sensible of the general and beneficial superintendence of the Gods.”* It is a frequent complaint with the early apologists for our religion, that every calamity which befell the Gentiles, was superstitiously charged to the account of Christianity, and accordingly made a ground of persecution. Here we have an instance of the very charge complained of; but is it not melancholy to hear this cry of Havoc come from the mouth of a Philosopher? The sentence of Constantine, who condemned his writings against Christianity to the flames, was more probably induced by this and similar incentives to persecution, than by any danger which he apprehended to the cause of the Gospel, from the force of this philosopher’s polytheistical reasonings.

Philostratus has written the life of Apollonius Tyanæus, an extraordinary person who had lived under Nero, and to whom he has ascribed the performance of many miracles. HIEROCLES abridged this work, and, in a piece entitled Philalethes, drew the subject of it into competition with our Saviour, and concludes with saying, “These things I have recorded as a ground of comparison between the gravity of our accurate judgement and the levity of the Christians: For, at a time when we do not consider Apollonius,

* Νυνὶ δὲ θανάτῳ, ἐν τοσούτων ἐτῶν κατέληψε τὴν πόλιν ἡ νόσος, Ἀισκλαπιῷ μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν μήχῃ ὅσῃς Ἰησοῦ γὰρ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΟΥ, ὁδεμιᾶς τὴς Θεῶν δημοσίας ἀφελείας ἡσθῆτο. Porphyrii ap. Euseb. Præparat. Evangelic. lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. Edit. ejusd. ac Demonstrat.

Ionius, who has performed the actions (here recounted) to be God, but a Man favoured by the Gods, they, on the contrary, because of a few miracles, proclaim this Jesus to be God." * In like manner Julian the Apostate expresses his contempt for the weakness of the Christian intellect, which could esteem the restoration of feet to the lame, and eyes to the blind, and other matters of this nature, performed by Jesus Christ in Bethesda and Bethany, as works of any considerable importance. †

CELSUS lived in the second century, so that when we hear him object to the Christians, their adoration of our Saviour's Godhead, we are not to conceive that he is only making a reply to the assertions of Origen; in fact he is speaking to the worshippers of a prior age; and against these it is that he objects "an acknowledgement that Christ is God." ‡ Numerous extracts have been already made from Origen's Answer to this writer,

E e e 2

from

* ΤίνϞ εν ενεκα ἐμνήσθην· ἵνα ἐξῇ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριθεῖ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κοινήν: ἕπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα εἰ Θεόν, ἀλλὰ Θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγάμεθα· οἱ δὲ δι' ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν Θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι. Hierocles, apud Euseb. contra Hieroc. p. 512. cum Demonstrat. Evangel.

† Ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐργαζομένϞ παρ' ὃν ἐξῆ χρόνον ἐργὸν εἶδεν ἀκοῆς ἀξίον, εἰ μὴ τις ἕλειται τὰς κυλλὰς καὶ τυφλὰς ἰᾶσθαι, καὶ δαιμονίων: ἐξορκίζει, ἐν Βηθσαϊδᾷ καὶ ἐν Βηθανιᾷ ταῖς κάμαις, τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων εἶναι. Julian. apud Cyrillum, lib. vi.

‡ Καὶ ὡς φάτε Θεὸς ὢν ———

Ἐγκαλεῖ ἡμῖν (ὁ Κελσός) περὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὅτι ἐκ θνητῶν σώματϞ εἶνα Θεὸν νομίζομεν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅσῳ δρᾶν δοκῶμεν. Celsi, apud Orig. contra Celsum, lib. iii. p. 135.

ῬούμενϞ

from many of which the grounds of the Philosopher's aversion from Christianity may be farther collected.—*See above, p. 256, &c.*

Let it also be inferred from the character of a Jew, which Celsus sometimes assumed, that he considered the Jewish objections to Christianity to be of the same nature.—That TRYPHO looked upon the Godhead of the crucified Jesus as a doctrine replete with folly, does not argue that he did not allow it to be the tenet of the Christian; on the contrary, he charges it against Justin Martyr, with vehemence and acrimony*.—According to Eusebius, PHILO, a Jew of Alexandria, in the time of Caligula, has corroborated the testimony of the Younger PLINY, given above in page 59, and to this we may annex the concurrent evidence of Lucian, the subject of a future article, who avers that the Christians rose to midnight hymn-singing†. Of the compositions which were at that time chaunted, but very few have descended to our days; a specimen, however, is set before the reader in page 177 above; of this kind, I have no doubt, was the hymn recorded to have been sung by the dying Athenogenes, page 359; and we may, not unreasonably, suppose that Prudentius, whose Poems are still extant, formed his style upon the model of his predecessors, and so from the imitation infer to the genius of the original. *See p. 139, 371, above.*

As

Ὀύμειν το καὶ αἰνόμενον καὶ κολαζόμενον Ὁμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ
 ἔ τὴν ἐν ἀσῶ δούτῃα, Θεὸν ἡμᾶς λέγειν: καὶ ὅτε καὶ αἰνέσειο καὶ
 ἐκολάζειο Θεὸν νενομίσθαι (λέγει ὁ Κέλσος) “ ὅτι τὸν δὲ σὸν Θεὸν
 παρίστα καὶ αἰνέουσι καὶ κολάζουσι,” &c. Euseb. lib. viii. p. 405.

* See above, p. 86, &c. See also p. 312.

† Ἐπὶ πανόχοις ὑμνωδίας ἐπαγρυπνῶντες. Luciani Philopat.

As the Orator LIBANIUS flourished some time after the Nicene Council, and it may therefore admit of doubt, whether his testimony, similar to that of Celsus, concerning the Christians, have a retrospect to days of which he was not a personal witness, I content myself with the following brief assertion preserved by Socrates, the Ecclesiastical Historian, who relates that Libanius, in the Funeral Oration of Julian the Apostate, “with derision affirms that the Christians make that (Man) of Palestine both God and the Son of God.” *

The same objection lying against the evidence of that young prototype of our James the first, the pedantick JULIAN himself, I have thought it sufficient to say, after Dr. Jortin, that “this Emperor, who rejected Christ, did not reject the notion of a Λόγος, [or THE WORD, John i. 1.] his Λόγος was the Sun whom he accounted to be the visible image of the invisible God.” † And this may at least serve to shew that, even by the enemies of Christ, the term Λόγος was not restricted in its signification to an impersonal attribute or *ἐπιστήμη ἀνυπεράστου*. See above, p. 216 and 379, the last note.

“And this verily,” says AMELIUS, “was the Word, by whom, being eternal, were made the things that were made, (which is also the sentiment of Heraclitus) and whom the Barbarian, (*St. John who was an Hebrew*) placing him in the rank and dignity of a Principle, has held

* Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ Σοφιστὴς Διδάσκων ἐπιχλευάζων, τὸν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, φήσιν, ἀνθρώπου Θεὸν τε καὶ Θεῶ παῖδα ποιῆσιν.—Socratis Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. xxiii.

† Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. II. p. 41. London, Whiston, 1767, 8vo.

held to be with God, and to be God, by whom all things were made, and in whom whatever liveth, possesseth life and existence; to have *descended to bodies*, and putting on flesh, to have assumed the form of man; to have subsequently manifested the majesty of his nature, and returning to have resumed his Godhead, and to be God, such as he was before his descent into a body, into flesh, and into man." *

Julian has borne the same testimony to the doctrine preached by St. John, who alone, he says, of all the Evan-

* Ἀμήλιος· αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἔῃμα γράφων ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ, “ Καὶ οὗτος ἀρὰ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγένετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειος· ἀξιώσειε, καὶ νῦν Δι’ ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος· ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξία καθεστηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, δι’ ἧς παντ’ ἀπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι, ἐν ᾧ τὸ γινόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζῶν, καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι, καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ Σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φανιάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καὶ τῇ τῆς κείνου δεικνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον, ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποδεῖσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, ὅστις ἦν πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὸ Σῶμα, καὶ τὴν Σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον καταχθῆναι.” Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. ii cap. xix, p. 540.

On this passage I have two observations to make; the first is, that Amelius having been a Platonick Philosopher, the cotemporary and friend of Plotinus, Porphyry, and Longinus, might in his ardour to maintain their favourite doctrine of principles or *ἀρχαί*, have mistaken the assertion of St. John. We have already seen the language of the Evangelist ἐν ἀρχῇ, &c. John i. 1. considered, by Theophilus, as equivalent to διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, &c. and heard our Saviour denominated ἀρχὴ in p. 129, above; may we not, therefore, suppose that the τάξις καὶ ἀξία τῆς ἀρχῆς, in which St. John is said to have placed the word, is no more than the interpretation put by Amelius upon the assertion of the Apostle, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος. From this, if assented to, I will leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

The second observation respects the words εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν· which, to avoid farther controversy, I have translated very literally: I am, notwithstanding, of opinion that their true meaning is congruous with the tenets of another Barbarian, who has told us, that our Saviour
“ took

Evangelists, has denominated our Saviour God, and appealed to the witness of John Baptist, that “it is Christ whom we should believe to be God the Word.” It is rather ludicrous to hear Mr. Lindsey charge this avowed apostate with being too orthodox, and with not having dealt candidly by the Unitarians in his acknowledgment that the weight of St. John’s testimony is against them. *See Sequel to the Apology, p. 198.*

LUCIAN, in his History of the Death of Peregrinus, affirms that “the Christians adore that Man who was crucified in Palæstine :” * “That they altogether abjure the Gods of Greece, but worship that crucified impostor of theirs, and regulate their lives according to laws prescribed by him.” † Of their amiably simple manners he then proceeds to give a description, which, if with regard to religious tenets there had ever yet subsisted a medium between contempt and concurrence, might

“took upon him the form of a servant.” The plural *ζώματα*, which, exclusive of the peculiarity of the whole sentence, I should conceive more than enough to express our Lord’s assumption of one body, was a common name of contempt given to the herd of slaves. To the humble rank of a servant therefore I apprehend it is that the Philosopher has said, the Word had descended. To have taken the form of Man, might very reasonably be considered as a precipitate descent from a state of omnipotence to a condition which, if comparison were possible, we must surely look upon as a state of the most profound humility and servile abasement.

St. Ignatius has declared “Jesus Christ to be the ETERNAL WORD,”
 “Εἷς ἐστὶν Θεὸς ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Τιῷ αὐτοῦ,
 ὃς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ΛΟΓΟΣ ἈΓΙΩΣ. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnesios.

* Ἐκείνον ἔτι ΣΕΒΟΥΣΙΝ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα. Luciani de Morte Pergrini.

† Θεὸς μὲν τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀπαγνήσκειναι, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκόκοι-
 πιστόμενον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΩΣΙ, καὶ κατὰ τὰς
 ἐκείνου νόμους βιάσθαι. Ibid.

might reasonably have exempted the legislator who had enjoined them from the opprobrious appellation.

Of this quotation Lucian is the undisputed author; whereas the Dialogue whence the following more remarkable passages are extracted, is not so universally ascribed to his pen. A particular description of St. Paul's person, and an allusion to a victory not specified, but which commentators have been pleased to confer upon Trajan, have induced an opinion, that it is the work of a prior writer; an opinion, however, with which I do not altogether concur.—For the reality of a fact asserted by Lucian, whose purposes were usually just as well answered by fiction, I do not see that there subsists any necessity; and therefore I conceive the victory alluded to here may possibly be no more than a fiction: and as to the person of St. Paul, that active apostle had in so many places attracted the observation of multitudes, that we may conceive tradition fully possessed of it at least for one century after his death. Within this period flourished Lucian, himself a native of Syria, and for a considerable time a resident in the Christian metropolis of Antioch, where “Paul was separated to the work that he afterwards fulfilled;” where “the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians;” and where, in the days of Lucian himself, Theophilus presided over the Church.* It is true that Lucian had quitted Antioch before the accession of Theophilus to the episcopal function; we may yet suppose him to have obtained his knowledge of the doctrine which he derides from the predecessors of that Bishop, and their numerous contemporary adherents. Let not my reader conceive that I am here laying a claim, I am in reality making a concession; for if I shall be thought to err in ascribing this little work to

Lucian

* See above, p. 125.

Lucian who died A. D. 171, the consequence is the establishment of an earlier date, which alone stands in competition with the author to whom I would ascribe it, and which is yet more contributory to my purpose.

The title of the Dialogue is *Philopatris*, or *the Lover of his Country*, a title with which the subject-matter holds but very little correspondence; for, though, on account of a national success, there do occur some few expressions of pleasure, and gratitude to the God who was unknown at Athens, from which it is obvious how St. Paul was understood by the Gentiles †, the main purpose of the author is to deride the religion of the Gospel; to this end he has selected the ridicule of Aristophanes for his model; that Poet, eminently skilled in the art of comic exaggeration, has presented Socrates to our view, delivering some very ludicrous doctrines in his school: but in the eyes of our author the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity appeared as great an absurdity as it does to-day in those of Mr. Lindsey, or of any other modern Unitarian: the subject, in his estimation, was fitted to his hand; he did not, therefore, think it necessary to exercise his invention in any sportive misrepresentation of the real matter of fact; but at once introduces a Christian, to whom he gives the name of *Triephon*, as chiding an Heathen for swearing by Jupiter, and thence immediately proceeding to

F f f

instruct

† Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀγνώστου θεοῦ ἑυρόμενος, καὶ προσκυνη-
σάντες, χεῖρας εἰς ἑρᾶνον ἐκτείναντες, τὸν εὐχαρισήσομεν. Luciani
Philopat.—Remember that this is the language of *Triephon*.

Origen, to the same effect, has said, that “when Paul walked forth among the altars and idols of the Athenians, and there found an inscription To THE UNKNOWN GOD; even from this word he took occasion to enter upon the publication of Christ.” Sed et cum perambulasset (Paulus) aras & idola Atheniensium, ubi invenit scriptum IGNOTO DEO, et ex hoc verbo sumpsit Christi prædicationis exordium; etiam ibi, aras Gentilium lustrans, in sanctis positus erat, quia sancta cogitabat. Origen. Homil. 12. in Levitic. tom. i. p. 103.

instruct him in the place of Jove and the other Pagan Deities, to substitute “ the mighty, immortal, heavenly God who reigneth on high ; the Son of the Father ; the Spirit proceeding from the Father ; one of three, and three of one. Account these Jupiter, think this your God.” To which he receives the following answer from Critias : “ You teach me to reckon and make an oath a problem ; like Nicomachus you deal in numbers. I understand you not : One three ? Three one ? Do you not speak of the *ogdoads* and *triads* of Pythagoras ? †

Here

† ΤΡΙΕΦΘΝ. Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμείροτον, ἐρασίωνα, ὕϊόν Παλῆος, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Παλῆος πορευόμενον, Ἐν ἐκ τρείων, καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς τρία.

Τὰντα νομίζει Ζῆνα, τὸν δὲ ἡγε Θεόν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ. Ἀρίθμειν μὲ διδάσκεις, καὶ ὅρεται ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ καὶ γὰρ ἀρίθμεις ὡς Νικομάχῳ ὁ Γερασίου. ἐκ οὐδα γὰρ τί λέγεις. Ἐν τρία, τρία ἐν, μὴ τὴν τετρακτὴν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου, ἢ τὴν ὀγδοάδα, καὶ τριακάδα. Luciani Philopatris.

Critias, in a subsequent part of the Dialogue, says, Νῆ τῶν Ὑϊῶν ἐκ Παλῆος ἐ τῆτο γενήσεται. ΤΡΙΕΦ. λέγε, παρὰ τῷ πνεύματι, δυνάμιν, τῷ λογῷ λάβων. Ibid.

If the following verse be now extant in the works of Euripides, it has eluded my search, but both Athenagoras and Clemens Alexandrinus have quoted and ascribed it to that Poet.

Τὰντα νομίζει Ζῆνα, τὸν δὲ ἡγε Θεόν.

That Lucian's expression is derived from this Iambic, cannot admit of a doubt ; but in the change which he has made in the first word, he has dispensed with the quantity of the original verse ; whence, tho' I know I shall subject myself to the charge of refinement, I am bold to infer that our Author intended to signify, by the plural τὰντα, the trinal number which is summed up into unity, the τρία which are ἐν. This, I grant, adds nothing to the proof of my point, that the subject of Lucian's ridicule subsisted previous to the Episcopacy of Theophilus, when it incurred his derision, for that is indisputable ; but, which is the only use I desire to make of the observation, it accounts for the change introduced into the language of Euripides.

Here not only the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is attested in language that cannot admit of controversy, but the very term "Trinity" is seen to derive a plenary exemption from the charge of barbarity and novelty; for had Critias proceeded to apply his objection to the arithmetical doctrines of Triephton, he must, in order to mark the likeness which they bore to those of Pythagoras, have necessarily formed the word Τρίας, (*Triad*) for with this, and with this alone, the terms Ὀγδοάς and Τριάκας, (*Ogdoad* and *Triacad*) possess a common mode of derivation; *—and to corroborate this remark, let it be farther observed, "that the name, by which our author has thought fit to characterize a Christian, whom he has also represented as the immediate disciple of St. Paul, is ΤΡΙΕΦΘΩΝ, a name which, being strictly and literally interpreted, signifies no less than "A PREACHER OF THE TRINITY."

The DOCTÆ or PHANTOMISTS were so far convinced of the Godhead of our Redemer, that they held his Manhood to be no more than an apparition; they could not conceive it possible that the purity of God should unite with the corruptible nature of man, and not imbibe some stain or blemish from the disproportionate union. Mr. Lindsey, who seems aware of the necessary inference from their tenet, contends for it that they considered our

F f f 2

Lord

* As it is not easy to give a Latin formation to the Words *Ogdoad* and *Triacad* (which mean, the one a combination of eight, the other a combination of thirty) the analogy between these terms and the word *Trinity*, can be rendered obvious to an English reader, only by giving a Greek formation to the latter. The idea then that is conveyed by the word *Trinity*, which is a derivative from the Latin denomination, is, on this principle, expressed by the Greek derivative ΤΡΙΑΔ: "And surely," says Hilary, "a name can have no criminality which corresponds with a religious meaning." "Nomen nihil habet criminis quod sensum non perturbat religionis." Hilary, de Synodis, lib. contra Arianos. See above, p. 330.

Lord only as an emanation; but is not this trifling? For, even upon his own state of their doctrines, our Saviour must have been such an emanation as precluded all impurity; such an emanation as must have pre-existed in a state superior to that which it now seemed to have assumed. That Being to whom the Phantomists denied the possibility of contamination, must have enjoyed a previous uncontaminated existence; and how far such an emanation from God can, even upon the Gnostic Principle, that Christ is an emitted Being from a progenitor, be considered as separate and another in Godhead, I refer my reader to Irenæus to learn: some part of the arguments with which that Father has subdued this frantic heresy, I have quoted above, in page 101. *

If the following assertion do not obviate Mr. Lindsey's interpretation of the heresy of the Phantomists, it does more, for it contributes an additional testimony to the general belief of our Saviour's Godhead, as Novatian assures us that "there were some hereticks who conceived Christ to be so truly God, that, denying his Manhood, they believed him to be God alone." †

As I have made only a few detached extracts from the refutation of PRAXEAS by Tertullian, I intentionally reserved, till now, a state of the tenets of that heretick;

* See Lindsey's Apology, p. 135, and Script. Consult. p. 204.

The Gnostics are usually termed Philosophizing Christians; I think them rather to have been Christianizing Philosophers, if such a title may be ascribed to men who appear only to have raved, not thought: for the Gospel seems rather to have been a superinduction than the basis of their doctrines.

† Alii quoque hæretici usque adeo eum Deum esse, ut quidam illum, subtrahendo homine, tantummodo putaverint Deum. Novat. cap. xvii.

heretick; but so far was Praxeas from denying the Godhead of our Saviour, that he held him to be, not a compound of the Word or second Person of the Trinity, and Man, but to be the Father himself united to the human nature of Christ, and with him sustaining all the sorrows which our Lord underwent for our redemption. The unity of the Father and the Son, he maintained in the strictest sense; for he did not admit of their personal distinction, but held that the Father was actually present himself, and united to the Christ. Allow the fact, and let Unitarians themselves decide whether this heresy does not proceed upon the admission of our Saviour's Godhead. This Praxeas saw too well attested to admit of a denial; the unity of God too he saw to be incontrovertible: But Praxeas was a Philosopher, and could not see how a Trinity should consist with this Unity. But, says Tertullian, "the Devil, for the establishment of error, usually admits of some truth, as a foundation to go upon; and here he contends for the unity of God, merely to make an heresy out of that Unity: he has put the Holy Ghost to flight, and crucified the Father." According to Praxeas then, their own ally, Jesus Christ is not only God, but even the impersonal God of the Unitarians.

The followers of Praxeas, who started up about the middle of the second century, were termed *monarchians*, because of their exclusion of the Son and Holy Ghost from the Godhead, which, confounding the persons, together with the incarnate imbecility of our Lord, they vested in the Father only: and a name thus given for distinction's sake, is an evident demonstration that they were considered as embracing a doctrine rejected by the Christian Church. The same sect, because of the tenet already stated, that the Father was crucified in
union

union with the manhood of our Saviour, was likewise denominated *Patropassians*. * See above, p. 211.

Even hereticks, who denied the Godhead of our Saviour, denied it in terms of controversy; they denied it as if it had been somewhere affirmed. Of these heretics, “who were all Unitarians, and much resembled those now called Socinians,” Mr. Lindsey has brought forward the testimony of Epiphanius, “who tells us that they were wont to say to other Christians, “Well, Sirs, are we to have one God or three Gods?” † Tritheism is the objection made here, and what one might conclude to have been their ground of dissent: but they held that a Trinity was subversive of the Unity of God; it was a belief in the Trinity therefore, which they held to be tritheism.—See for the concurrence of Athanasius, page 134 above.

It is some felicity to the doctrine which we profess, that every argument made use of by its most strenuous adversaries, spend their force without reaching the intended mark: they always strike at some substituted mis-

* Tertullian has written a refutation of the heresy of Praxeas, which he, who doubts my assertions above, may easily turn to; it were too long for this place to extract the several passages on which I have stated the doctrines of that heretick. In the course of the work he opposes the monarchical idea of Praxeas, by saying, that the true monarchy of God is by no means impeded by his tripersonality: “For how is it that God should seem to suffer division or dispersion in the Son and Holy Ghost, who possess the second and third place, and are partakers or joint possessors of the substance of the Father?” “the superinduction of a rival power of its own condition or proper state, is the only subversion of the monarchy, that is, when another God is brought in against the Creator.”

† Τὸ αὐτὸ εἰπαμεν, ὡς οἱ τοι; ἓνα Θεὸν ἔχομεν ἢ τρεῖς Θεοὺς. Epiphanius, Hæres. 62. Sequel to Apol. p. 142.

misrepresentation which, when it falls, they endeavour to impose upon their followers for the reality. See p. 270.

Still, however, the truth stands erect upon her own firm basis, unaffected by the sophistry or subtilty of men, whom Mr. Lindsey, with pride, adopts into the fraternity of Unitarians: But does Mr. Lindsey recollect, that when he thus eagerly assumes the concurrence of Noëtus, Sabellius, Praxeas, &c. he relinquishes his original claim to all the Christians of the first three centuries; or does he mean to associate Tertullian, Origen, and the other Fathers, with men whose communion they so warmly abjured, and whose heretical innovations they so effectually refuted? The absurdity of such an endeavour must surely appear too manifest. I therefore conceive that his prudence alone remains for our approbation, and that having experienced the impossibility of procuring any assistance to his cause from “the Christian people of the first three centuries,” he now provides himself with an alliance of a very opposite character, makes good his party, and secures a retreat, among *the heretics*; but, be it so, I am amply satisfied with that portion, which, on such a division of forces, falls to our side of the question, and am contented to add Mr. Lindsey’s own concession to the multitudinous proofs that warrant me to assume the concurrence of the whole primitive Church: With him, therefore, I shall leave the office of calling upon any farther heretical evidence*, reserving still to myself the power of asking

* I do not recollect any other Pagan writers who have spoken of the Christian tenets within the first three centuries. Both Tacitus and Suetonius name the sect with the disgust natural to the votaries of the Pantheon, but not in terms from which any thing particular with respect to their belief in our Saviour’s Godhead can be collected. As Nerva certainly rescinded the bloody edicts of Domitian against the Christians, I suspect that the Christians are meant by Dio Cassius in his assertion concerning

a few cross questions, by which, when in maintenance of his own plaint, he shall have produced the sharpest invectives and keenest raillery of his witnesses, I may, perhaps, be able to convert their testimony into an irrefragable establishment of the very point which he would thus, by the exaggeration of their ridicule, or misrepresentation of their contumely, aggravate into an absurdity; and so subvert:

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Nerva, whose pardon to those who had been condemned for impiety to the Gods, he records in the commencement of that Emperor's life.

Themistius lived too long after the Council of Nicæ to make his testimony, provided it were even more particular, of any great value.

Zosimus is liable to the same objection, and, besides this, has betrayed such consummate ignorance of his subject in the course of his narrative, that were he in other respects a competent witness, we could not venture to rely upon his assertion. He professes enmity to the Christian cause, but this could not affect his evidence, his invective would have been equally valid and conclusive with his panegyrick. *See above, p. 307.*

Josephus has given a very particular account of our Saviour, but not in language applicable to the present enquiry, I should otherwise have undertaken its defence against a doubt suggested that it is only a forgery. *See above, p. 312.*

Of heretical evidence I have stated that which appeared to me the most important; if, however, it be thought requisite to enquire any farther, I refer the reader to the history of numerous heresies by Epiphanius. I think them, however, but little to the purpose. *See above, p. 104, 366.*

I cannot take my leave of this subject without vindicating myself from the charge of having, at every turn, in the Scriptural Confutation of Mr. Lindsey's Apology, had the name of Heretick in my mouth: I really do not recollect having once used the word throughout that volume; I have no such pleasure in bestowing opprobrious appellations as should tempt me to turn out of my way to inflict them. I do not believe that even in this book I shall be found to have affixed a name of reproach to any man, excepting in the moment of having caught him in the fact which suggests it: For instance, where my Remarker justifies the worship of angels, I call him there, but no where else, an idolater, and where he is the advocate of two Gods, I there, and there alone, call him Polytheist; but the fact being then recent, and the man taken, as it were, with the manor, the term is in the instant accounted for, and justified by the present witness to the propriety of its application.

The whole body of Christian men constitute the tribunal, and consequently every individual sits as a judge in that court before which I have thus, first, stated the evidence of the scriptures, and subsequently exhibited the verdict which primitive antiquity returned upon that evidence: upon this verdict, thus founded, it only remains that judgement be awarded, and as I see no reason for delay, I accordingly now demand it. Had I not myself appeared so long as an advocate, I should commence with a delivery of my own sentence; nay, as it is, having had no other end than unadulterated truth in view, and having very diligently sought for this, I shall not hesitate to pronounce that Unitarians, guilty of error in having laid it, must for ever hereafter relinquish their claim to a prescriptive sanction from the Christians of the first three centuries.—And upon the whole, I affirm my own sincere belief in the **ONE GOD-HEAD OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST.**

Before I lay aside my pen it may be necessary to say a few words in my own behalf; and first, though I can safely declare myself unconscious of any misrepresentation, yet it is very possible that, in the multitude of extracts which I have stated, I may have lapsed into some errors; that I may have mistaken, and consequently misrepresented, some passages from the numerous difficult writers with whom I have had to deal. If this be really the case, and that I shall be detected, I have little doubt that something worse than “blunders” will be imputed to me, and that an exaggerated imposture will be laid to the charge of my intention. Now, to this I obviate, not only a denial of the intention, but an ample and entire concession of every passage that may be thus challenged. With a view to this possibility I have

multiplied extracts, and am so very certain that when every exceptionable assertion is subducted, enough will yet remain to justify my inference from the whole, that I shall persist in requiring the assent of my reader upon the residue which continues unaffected: Like the Sibyl I shall abide by my first demand, on every reduction of the volume shall return, and, without abatement, challenge for the mutilated remnant, the undiminished value, for nothing less than the full and entire attainment of which I now make an offer of the whole to the public. *Rode Capere vitam, &c.*

An earnest and sincere wish to advance the eternal interests of mankind might, as it prompts, so very well alleviate the arduous occupation of establishing that basis of universal good-will, the gospel of Jesus Christ, were it not that a kind of warfare, incident to the nature of controversy, unhappily necessitates a seeming suspension of that very charity whose true foundations are the object of vindication. To redeem the word of God from the misrepresentations of an adversary, and thus to erase the foundations of error, engage the advocate of truth in a species of personal conflict. From the detected fallacy or degraded sophism with which the object of his defence had been assailed, a general suspicion against the intellect or integrity of a writer, who had either wilfully or erroneously employed them, is a natural inference; to deduce it, is contributory to the cause which he would maintain; and, in the moment of detection, to mark the man as an object of derision or questionable veracity, is no more than an act of justice by which the public shall be disabused, and the repetition of such fraudulent measures rendered for the future not only ineffectual but inconvenient. So far however, and so far only as his controversial character is concerned, do I desire to affect the credit of any man; and if in the course
of

of this work I have uttered a censure that may seem capable of being carried, even by remote inference, beyond this point, I do hereby make what reparation I can, I disavow the intention and rescind the excess.

But in some instances, exasperated perhaps by the appearances of defective integrity in an opponent, I may have spoken with too much acrimony, and not feeling now the unwarrantable impulses of either indignation or contempt, I fear that some passages may have been written under their undue dictate; here then let me be the first to reprehend my own offence, and, so far as a demand of forgiveness may atone for the injury, let me thus anticipate and allay resentment; to this end therefore, of every person thus injured, I earnestly and even with humility request their pardon.

Let me however be understood, and not subject myself to the charge of timidity by this petition. In the course of controversy many facts are alledged, and many arguments adduced in maintenance of either side of the litigated question: Errour with respect to the one, and misconception with regard to the other, may naturally induce falsehood and sophism; to these, prejudice, or even zeal, may give the appearances of truth and deduction in the eyes of that party whose cause they advance, while his adversary, possibly unwilling to see the justice of a better argument, is quick-sighted in the pursuit and discovery of these defects. When detected, they are imputed to an intention to deceive, and the person who has used them is considered as dishonest and fallacious, while perhaps he was only guilty of too great credulity, or was unable to develop the falsehood couched in a specious sophism. If therefore error or sophism have been unknowingly advanced to a place in argument, and that I have inferred from these to the pre-

penſe guilt of my opponent, it is here and here alone that I am deſirous of compenſating for the injuſtice of my miſinterpretation. But if, on the contrary, a falſehood has been wilfully ſtated, or a ſophiſm intentionally advanced as a ground of deduction, I abide by whatever my utmoſt diſguſt at ſuch a conduct may have ſuggeſted; and, as in caſe I have done an injury I have deſired forgiveness, ſo I reſuſe to receive it from him who feels in his own breaſt that I have uttered no more than the truth. By the man of integrity I am certain that it will be liberally extended; conſcious criminality may be vindictive and withhold it; any farther attack upon me therefore, on this account, I ſhall conſider as a plea of guilt; and whatever I am now diſpoſed to wiſh no more than an haſty miſrepresentation of my own, I do hereby confirm as true of the convicted culprit, who, to uſe the language of the hiſtorian, “*ſi irascitur de ſe ipſe dictum fatebitur.*”

And now, having performed my part towards a reconciliation with all men, and to the utmoſt of my power endeavoured to compenſate for that aſperity which is unavoidably incident to the nature of diſputation, particularly when the ſubject is of all others the moſt intereſting, let me have leave to withdraw from a controverſy, the immediate end of which were attained to in vain, if the means employed for its accompliſhment were calculated only to fruſtrate the more remote but ultimate purpoſe for which we are required to hold the myſtery of faith; for of this, however exempt from error, if held excluſive of a pure conſcience and the love which is in Chriſt Jeſus, if urged with all the deep ſuggeſtions, but without the meekneſs of wiſdom, we ſhould be found only to have made a lamentable ſhipwreck; we ſhould thus come under the curſe of wrath denounced againſt the unrighteouſneſs of men to whom
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the truth has been made known, and feel at length the flaunting luxuriance of our unfruitful foliage shrink and wither away before the voice that blasted the barren fig-tree.

But let us not, while we thus extol the excellence of Charity, conceive this virtue possessed of any religious existence whatsoever in a state of separation from Faith; for as Faith without Charity is but the truth in unrighteousness, so that Charity which does not stand upon the pillar and ground of Faith can never assume to itself the merit of obedience, for this plain and evident reason, that it was never referred to a divine command.—By the means of that Faith, through which alone we are adopted to be the children of God, it is, that our fraternal charities are made to bear any relation to him; and thus by an injunction, dictated by nothing less than the infinite Love himself, do we find our good-will towards man exalted in its nature, and elevated into an acceptable act of glorification to God on high.

To these combined virtues, enjoined under the new covenant, and consequently enjoined with promise, Hope, though their natural result, is, by a law, calculated not to introduce but to abolish sin, erected also into a virtue, and given to be their inseparable associate. To her is assigned the felicitating office to point out, and direct the eye of Charity to that reward which is prepared for the righteous from the beginning of the world: And thus, uniting the past, the present, and the future, does the same voice, which has denounced death against the sorrow of the world, 2 Cor. vii. 10. and for the attainment of everlasting felicity rendered it an indispensable duty for us to be happy even here, make this life a little epitome of that eternal now in which all time, no longer progressive, shall stand at once

once before us, command us with a grateful retrospect to our adoption, and the sacrifice by which it has been effected, to look upon all, who with ourselves acknowledge his paternal relation, as our own brethren, the children of one common father, and, under the influence of this persuasion, exercising ourselves for the present in obedience to his royal law, with chearful confidence to look forward to that day in which he will himself conduct many sons into glory.

Thus to “Faith, Hope, and Charity,” hath God, as it were, in emblem of his own trinal unity, dispensed one common essence; “these three” hath God himself thus joined together, and so intimately united, as to render the association of all essential to the existence of each, the subduction of any one necessarily destructive to the existence of all. To maintain this important union, therefore, against the efforts of men, who, rescinding the reference to a divine command and promise, and thus exclusively vesting in a moral life the sum of all religious duty, would ruinously deprive Charity of the conduct of Faith, “without which it is impossible for us to please God”*, and snatch from her the invigorating society of Hope, “provided for us only by the gospel;”† to persuade mankind, instead of the supposititious suggestions of a misunderstood faculty, the proud imaginations and unstable dictate of the unassisted human intellect, to reassume the infallible word of the omniscient Giver of all wisdom, as the only firm foundation of any knowledge that it is possible for us to acquire concerning his otherwise inaccessible nature; and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Jesus Christ,” from Religion alone to seek for the uniform and immutable principle of every social virtue; from her to derive “righteousness to our sacrifice,” and in consequence of
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* Hebrews xi. 6.

† Heb. xi. 39, 40.

the “record of God borne to the value of our obedience,” to look for a reward suitable to the majesty of an omnipotent legislator—Such is the end to the attainment of which I have thus laboriously adduced, not the feeble suggestions of man’s wisdom, but the unerring testimony of the God of truth speaking by prophets and apostles, together with the sentiments of every antient writer who has delivered an opinion concerning the true intent and signification of that testimony; by the universally concurrent voice of whom, and God is in the voice, we are instructed on brotherly love to ground our charity, and on that Faith alone, by which being empowered to become the children of God, we have received the Spirit of adoption, our brotherly love*; to make this the bond of our Christian society, thus truly rendered the fellowship and communion of the Spirit; on this, as on a rock that may not be shaken, to build ourselves up “a temple to the Holy Ghost;” “holding fast the confidence and the rejoicing of hope unto the end to grow up an holy temple in the Lord, the house of Christ,” by his grace, and the consolation that is in him, to rise a temple of the living God;” and, even in this life, through the hope by which we shall finally receive salvation, enjoying a foretaste of our eternal reward, to receive that God, who is Love, as an inmate of the building, in which he has promised to dwell, if fitly framed together as an habitation of God through the Spirit †.

* Romans viii. 15.—Galat. iv. 5, 6.

† Eph. ii. 21, 22.—Heb. iii. 6.—1 Corinth. vi. 19.—2 Corinth. vi. 16.—xiii. 5, 14.—Rom. viii. 24.—1 John iv. 8, 16.—Philip. ii. 1.

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I N D E X

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*Several ARTICLES of the CHRISTIAN FAITH,
professed by the Members of the Primitive CHURCH,
extracted from their WRITINGS, and inserted in the
present Volume.—The Order that of the Athanasian
Creed.*

THE CATHOLICK FAITH IS THIS, THAT WE WOR-
SHIP ONE GOD IN TRINITY, AND TRINITY IN
UNITY.

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